

A  
CONTINUATION  
OF THE  
Collection  
OF THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND.

BEGINNING

Where *SAMUEL DANIEL* Esq; ended  
with the Reign of *EDWARD* the Third:  
And ending where the Honourable Vicount St. *ALBANES*  
began with the Life of *HENRY* the Seventh.

Being a compleat History of the beginning and end of the  
Dissention betwixt the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*.

With the Matches and Issue of all the Kings, Princes, Dukes,  
Marquesses, Earls, and Vicounts of this Nation deceased, during those  
times.

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By *JOHN TRUSSEL*.

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The Fifth Edition Revised.

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— *Sequitur non passibus equis*  
*Ascanius* —

Virgil.

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L O N D O N,

Printed by *Tho. Hodgkin*, for *Richard Chiswell* at the *Rose and Crown* in  
*St. Paul's Church Yard*, MDCLXXXV.

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GOVERNMENT

OF THE

LANDS

AND

WATER

RESOURCES

OF THE

UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

WASHINGTON, D. C.

1900

1901

1902

1903

1904

1905

1906

1907

1908

TO THE  
Honourable, Reverend, and Right Worshipful,  
**Sir John Bramston K<sup>t</sup>,**  
Lord Chief Justice  
OF  
His MAJESTIE'S BENCH,  
Sir { *WILLIAM JONES*  
*GEORGE CROOKE* } Knights,  
*ROBERT BARCKLEY*  
The Learned Judges of that Court.

**L**ICENSE me (I humbly beseech your Reverend Fatherhoods) with the contrite Penitent, ingeniously to acknowledge my Errour, which is over-much presumption in undertaking, more in Publishing, but most in thus presenting this my Collection: But withal to appeal from the Bar of Rigor to the Board of Favour, and thereat to obtain this extenuation of Censure: That being it was begun with a good intent, prosecuted to a seeming good end, and is now in all besitting humbleness presented to procure protection, that I may pass without publick reprehension: And sithence Words and Writing are not real according as they are spoke or writ, but as they are approved by others: Let your noble dispositions but make a favourable exposition of what

*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

is done: And then I am confident I shall untoucht  
pass the pikes of scorn and reproof: In earnest ex-  
pectation whereof, humble and hearty Prayers to  
God, the giver of all good Gifts, for your long  
Lives, in Health and Hearts ease here, and sempiternal  
Happiness hereafter, shall not want daily to  
be poured out, by him that hourly rests,

*Your Lordship's*

*reallest in all Service*

*and Duty,*

JOHN TRUSSELL.

To



TO THE  
Courteous Reader.

**M***y natural propension to the reading of History, was the occasion that I left no Chronicle of this land, that purse, or prayer could purchase or procure, unperused: whereby I found that verified, that Prince Henry (now with God) complained of, which was, that of all Nations the English were most blame-worthy: That being inferiour to none for praise-worthy atchievements, yet were surpassed by all, in leaving the memory of those their praise-worthy actions to posterity, This I tooke to heart, but every way unable to remedy it, I rested silent, until of late it came into my mind; That that part of the History of great Britain, which was most intricate and troublesome, which was the beginning of that Story was happily begun and as ingeniously followed by that every way well deserving Gentleman Samuel Daniel: And thereby all those rubbes and bankes which the deluge of time had raised and left on the plat form, were made smooth or taken away, and that Vicount Saint Albones had so sufficiently perfected that of all other the most doubtful (if not dangerous piece) of later times to be undertaken, the happy Conjunction of the so long severed houses of York and Lancaster; and that many others, Reverend and judicious men, had by way of Annals pursued the History unto the blessed Uniting of the two Neighbour, but long before divided Kingdoms, of England and Scotland, so that now there wanted nothing to*

## THE EPISTLE

*make the history compleat, for so much as was requisite until that time, but only the passages from Richard the second to the period of Richard the third, a great part whereof was likewise accurately done by Sir John Heyward and Sir Thomas More, so that now with little labour that gap might easily be filled up, and the history made passable; Whereupon I have adventured to add my piece of ordinary valure, to those rich remnants of three pil'd Velvet, by enterweaving the times of Richard the second, Henry the fourth, Henry the fifth, Henry the sixth, Edward the fourth, Edward the fifth, and the Usurper Richard the third; Wherein though I prove but a botcher, yet as the old saying is, better a course clout than a hole out. And to clear my self though not à toto, yet à tanto, from that aspersiō that happily might be cast upon my endeavours, that howsoever not ignorant of my own manifold imperfections, yet like blind bayard, I should over-boldly venture to tread in that Maze, which ought not to have been undertaken, but by a more able body and a more active brain, and thereby have forgetfully brought my self within the number of those over-forward Writers, which Doctor Heyward in his Epistle Dedicatory to his first three Norman Kings affirmeth, hath sullied the beauty of the English history.*

*Give me leave gentle Reader, (I beseech thee) as before I have yielded the reason, that incited me to the undertaking of this work, so to give thee an account of my proceeding therein.*

*First, I have forborn to assume unto my self the liberty of an Historian, to obtrude upon thee any thing of my own invention, quia malui aliena imprudenter dicere, quam propria impudenter ingerere: And for that History is, or ought to be a perfect register of things formerly done truly,*



## TO THE READER.

truly, or at least *warantable* by probability: I have pro-  
posse meo examined, though not all, (yet without touch  
of Arrogance, I may speak it) the most and best, that  
have written of those times, and culling out the truth as  
near as I could gather it, like an *Eccho*, Voces quas ac-  
cepi fidelissimè reddidi.

Secondly, I have pared off these superfluous exuberan-  
ces, which like *Wenns* upon a beautiful face, disgrace  
the otherwise graceful comeliness of the countenance; I  
mean.

1. Matters of Ceremony, as Coronations, Christenings,  
Marriages, Funeralls, solemn Feasts, and such like.

2. Matters of Triumph, as Tiltings, Maskings, Bar-  
riers, Pageants, Gallefoists, and the like.

3. Matters of novelty, as, great inundations, sudden ri-  
sing and falling of prizes of Corn, strange Monsters, Just-  
ice done on petty offenders, and such like executions, with  
which the Cacoethes of the Writers of those times have  
mingled matters of State.

And lastly, I have inserted the matches and issue of all  
above the degree of a Baron, that have ended their dayes  
during those times, with the number of slain, during the  
division of the two Roses; which how far it may con-  
duce to the better understanding of the History, I leave  
to thy capacity, and my self to thy courtesie, and so ex-  
pecting a favourable censure, rest thine,

JOHN TRUSSELL.



April 24. 1635.

*Perlegi .hoc Opus Historicum duobus voluminibus comprehensum, cui  
titulus, A Continuation of the Collection of the History of  
England, &c. quod quidem in toto continet folia 418. aut circiter, in  
quibus nihil reperio sanæ doctrinæ, aut bonis moribus contrarium,  
quo minus cum utilitate publica imprimi possit : Sub ea tamen condi-  
tione, ut si non intra triennium typis mandetur, hæc licentia sit omnino  
irrita.*

GULIELMUS HEYWOOD *Capel.*  
*domest. R. R. P. Cant.*

# A Continuation OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

*Liber Tertius.*

## RICHARD THE SECOND.



*Richard* the Second, born at *Burdeaux*, Son of *Edward* the Black Prince, and *Joan* the Daughter of *Edmond* Earl of *Kent*, and grandchild to *Edward* the Third, being eleven years old, was Crowned King at *Westminster* the 21. day of *June* 1377. by *Simon Sudbury* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, at the time of whose Coronation the Duke of *Lancaster*, per nomen *Johannis Regis Castilie & Legionis Ducis Lancastrie*, put his claim as Earl of *Leicester*, to have the place of Earl Marshal of *England*; as Duke of *Lancaster*, to carry the Sword at the Coronation called *Curtana*; as Earl of *Lincoln*, to be Carver that day: all which to be executed by himself, or his sufficient Deputy: which with the Fees thereunto belonging, were confirmed unto him, and he accordingly did then and there in Person execute the place of high Marshal.

An. 1377.  
R. 1.

At such years as this King was then off, the mind of man is like unto the potters earth, apt to be wrought into any fashion, and then which way soever it hardeneth by custom, it seldom swerves from the same. The Governance of the King at the first was committed to certain Bishops, Earls, Barons, and Justices; but either by niceness and fear of discontenting the King, or negligence to discharge their duty, or both, every one was more ready to please him with delightful Conceits, than with profitable Counsel to do him good: for smooth and pleasing speeches need small endeavour, and always find favour: whereas to advise that which is most meet, is a point of some pains, and many (if not most) times but a thankless office. Hereupon two dangerous evils did ensue: Flattery brake in, and private respects (as ever since it hath done) did pass under publick pretences.

At



An. 1378.

R. 2.

At his Coronation he created four Earls; *Thomas Woodstock*, King *Edward* the thirds youngest Son, Earl of *Buckingham* and *Northampton*; *Thomas Mowbray*, younger Brother of *John* Lord *Mowbray*, was created Earl of *Nottingham*; *Gifford Angolisme* a *Gascoigne*, Earl of *Huntington*; and *Henry Piercy*, Son of *Henry* Lord *Piercy*, was created Earl of *Northumberland*.

In the beginning of this Kings Reign, the *French* on the one side, and the *Scots* on the other, did cruelly infest this Land, the one making depredations in the Isle of *Wight*, harrying the same, and attempting the Castle from whence they were manfully repulsed by a Captain whose name I will forbear, because in some Authors I find him stiled by another appellation: the other forraged the Countrey round about, and burnt the Town of *Rocksborough*. This course of each side, spoiling the *English*, they (both *French* and *Scots* combining) continued by Sea, until *John Philpot*, Citizen and Alderman of *London*, (lamenting the misery of the times, occasioned by common neglect of securing the Coasts, and scouring the Seas: whereby the Merchant durst not traffick abroad for fear of Pyrats, which hovered in every corner, but especially of one *Mercer* a *Scottish* Rover, who had drawn together a great Fleet of *French*, *Scots* and *Spaniards*, and with them did rob and spoil all they met, and did great mischief) complained hereof to the Kings Council, and demonstrated to them the daily wrongs sustained by the said *Mercer*, imploring their aid; but receiving from them no relief, he at his own proper costs victualled and manned forth a company of tall ships, himself in person going with them to Sea; and in short time took the said *Mercer*, and recovered all the prizes formerly taken, with fifteen *Spanish* Bottoms well fraught with riches, besides many *French* and *Scottish* Ships; for which action he incurred the hard censure of most of the Noble men, from whom he seemed to have snatcht by this his fortunate attempt the native cognisance of true Nobility; Amongst whom *Hugh* Earl of *Stafford* nettled with the general commendations given to *Philpot* for this design, publickly at the Council Table, objected against him, the unlawfulness of the act, without authority, being but a private man, to attempt to levy Arms. But *Philpot* with a kind of undaunted resolution, not only justified the act, as though not altogether lawful, yet very expedient, being done for the Honour of God, and the King, and the security of the publick, but retorted the objection of improvidence, and slothful neglect, upon the Earl and the rest of the Council, so that they were much to seek for a reply, and he returned with the general applause of the Citizens, and most of the Courtiers.

An. 1379.

R. 3.

The King of *France* presuming of the Kings minority with some *Spanish* aid, landed in the Southwest part of *England*, and ransackt and burnt the Towns of *Plimmouth*, *Dartmouth*, *Portsmouth*, *Rye*, and divers other Coast-Towns, and marched further into the main, until, by the Earl of *Cambridge*, the Kings Uncle, and the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Buckingham*, and their forces, they were encountered, and beat back unto their Ships.

About that time also by the King of *France* his instigation, *Alexander Ramsay*, a brave *Scot*, with forty of his Countrey-men, in the night surprised the Castle of *Barwick*, and intended to have fallen upon the Town; but the Inhabitants suspecting some treason by the noise they heard, endeavoured to prevent mischief, hewed down the staves of the draw-bridge, on the Town side, so that when the *Scots* let fall the Bridge, the chains breaking,

the



the Bridge fell into the ditch, by means whereof the Scots were imprisoned by their own conquest; yet as well as they were able, they fortified themselves in the Castle, which presently was besieged and assaulted, and (though valiantly defended) was with some loss at length surpris'd: upon the taking whereof, not one man, but the Captain *Ramsay* was spared.

An. 1378.  
R. 2.

An. 1379.  
R. 3.  
The Earl of  
Warwick.  
made sole Tu-  
tor to the  
King.

In the third year of this Kings Reign, it was concluded, that to avoid unnecessary charge, the tutelage of the King should be committed but to one man; and by the whole consent of the Parliament assembled, this office was deputed to Lord *Thomas Beauchampe*, Earl of *Warwick*, and a competent pension was assigned him out of the Kings Exchequer for his pains and care thereabouts to be taken. But the King being plunged in the gulf of pleasure, did immoderately bend himself, to advance and favour such persons as were reproveable for life, and generally condemned for deboishment; and this was the cause of two great inconveniences, for many of the younglings of the Nobility, observing the secret favours and distastes of the King, gave over themselves to a dissolute and dishonest course, which findeth some followers when it hath no furtherancers; much more when it doth flourish and thrive by countenance and abetment: The King also by favouring these, was himself little favoured, and less loved by many; For it is as dangerous to a Prince, to have evil and despised adherents, as to be evil and despicable himself. The chief actors in this scene were *Nevill* Archbishop of *York*, *Robert Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, *Michael Delapoole*, *Robert Tresilian* Lord Chief Justice, *Nicholas Bramber*, Alderman of *London*, and others, neither eminent by birth or desert, but observant and plyable to the Kings humour: These were highly in credit with the King, both in company and council always next him: By these he ordered his private actions, by these he managed his affaires of State; he spared neither the dignity, nor death of any man whose authority of life interposed their pleasure or profit. He removed Sir *Richard Scroope* from being Lord Chancellor of *England* (to which place he was appointed by the Parliament) because he refused to set the great Seal to the grant of certain lands, which had been abusively drawn from the King: alledging for his so doing, the great debts of the King, the small demerits of the grauntees, upon whom the King might consume much, but orderly give nothing; wishing the King might be well advertised, that ryot might deceive him under the terms of bounty, and that gifts well ordered procure not so much love, as indiscreetly imparted incite envy. This Chancellor used not to cauterize his conscience with partial maintaining of such as were mighty, but being alike to all, was the sooner disliked of all that were lewd.

Scroope L.  
Chancellor re-  
moved.

The destruction of the Duke of *Lancaster* was plotted upon the like dislike by Justice *Tresilian*, offences were suggested, appellors appointed, Peers named, sudden arrest intended, and present arraignment, condemnation, and execution concluded; But the Duke upon notice of these contrivances, escaped to *Pomfret* Castle, and there made preparation for his defence against the King; from hence grew a head of division, which the common people at that time very busily sought. But the Kings Mother incessantly travelling between the King and the Duke (notwithstanding her unweildiness and age) drew them both to reconciliation; The King in regard of the dangerous and discontented times, the Duke in respect of his duty and allegiance, the more easie to be made inclinable; and so partly by her intreaty and counsel, and partly by their inclination, bending to the safest

An. 1381.

R. 3.

safest course, all appearance of displeasure on the one part, and distrust on the other, was for that time removed. The *Frenchmen* again land in *England*, and did much harm at *Dover*, *Winchelsey*, *Hastings*, and at *Graves-End*; and unincountred, returned to *France*: For prevention of which out-rages and revenge of those injuries offered, a Parliament is assembled at *Westminster*; in which a Subsidy of four pence *per poll* of each Sex throughout the Kingdom (above the age of fourteen years) is granted to the King. The levying whereof procured much heart-burning, and did much alien the hearts of the Subjects from the King. With that money preparation is made, and eight thousand men sent over into *France*, under the conduct of *Thomas of Woodstock* the Kings Uncle; who passing over *Soam*, *Oyse*, and *Marne*, Rivers, spoyled and burnt all the Countrey, and ransomed the Inhabitants, untill he came to *Britanie*; where by the Duke *John Momford*, he was joyfully received and royally entertained.

About this time one *John Ball*, a factious Clergy man, a Scholar of *Wickliff*, observing the Common people much to murmur at the payment of the foresaid Subsidy; in all places where he came, used secretly to inform the inferiour sort of people, such as were poor and needy, That by descent from *Adam*, all men were of one condition, that the Laws of this Kingdom were injurious, and much hindered us of participating Christian liberty; nay, most unjust, by making so great a difference of mens estate, preferring some to be Peers and Potentates, giving to some others large authority, and enlarging others possessions, and taking advantage of the humble and plyable condition and carriage of others, kept them in servility and baseness, hardly giving them allowance of sustenance; and not that neither, but with sweat and hard labour; where amongst Christians there should be an equal share of all things, and that in common, taking this for his theame; *When Adam delv'd and Eve span, who was then a Gentleman?* With suchlike trayterous perswasions, he did prepare the Vulgar (apt to entertain the proffers of rebellion) and fit them for insurrection upon the slightest occasion: This Doctrine once on foot, run from Rustick to Gentile, and from Shire to Shire; that at length, it infatuated them, and infected the City of *London*, the Commons whereof, I mean the poorer sort of Mechanicks and Handicrafts, desperately inclined to mutiny upon the reasons aforesaid, incited and invited the multitude, prepared as aforesaid, to come thither, promising their best assistance and furtherance: Whereupon a rude rout of rascalls, under the leading of *Wat Tyler* a Taylor, who commanded in chief, with their grave Minister *John Ball*, *Jack Straw* a Thresher, *Jack Sheppard* of the Council of War, under the Title of the Kings men, and the servants of the Common-Wealth of *England*, came to *London*, ransacking by the way, and demolishing from *Essex* side, all the fair Structures and great Buildings of the Nobility and Gentry: They summoned the King to give them a meeting; who accordingly accompanied with the most of his best Councillors, took his Barge and went to *Graves-End*; but seeing the rabble so ragged and rogue-like, a Company of swads, compact of the off-scum of the people; it was held no discretion for the King to venture his Person among them, and so returned to the Tower from whence he came.

The Commons insurrection under *Wat Tyler's* leading.

An. 1482.

R. 4.

The next day these unruly rake-shames approached *London*, but finding the Gates lockt, and the bridg drawn, and well guarded, they threatned the slaughter of Man, Woman and Child, on *Southmark* side, the sacking of their houses,



An. 1382.  
R. 4.

houses, and lastly the firing of the Borough and Churches there. For prevention whereof, and somewhat to keep the staggering Commons from precipitate running with them into rebellion, the Gates were opened and the bridge let down, and by permission they entred, where their fury (with fair words and kind usage) was for that night pacified; only the Commander Tyler sent for his quondam Master *Richard Lion*, an ancient grave Citizen, and in thankful requital of moderate and deserved punishment given him in his Apprentiship, he caused his head to be struck off, and pitched upon a pole, and in triumph born before him the next day when he went to the *Savoy* (a house belonging to *John of Gaunt* the Kings Uncle) which they rifled, burnt, and inhumanly murdered all the chief Officers they found there: They commit Sacrilege in all Churches and religious Houses, robbing the Houses of the Students in the Law, committing to the fire all their Books and Records, proclaiming death to any that should be found to know Law, or literature; they spoiled all Forrainers inhabiting in or near *London*; and their numbers increasing to three score thousand, they came to *Saint Katherine's*, from thence sending to the King to attend their pleasure at *Mile End*; who accordingly went. But no sooner was the King gone forth of the Tower to the place appointed; when Tyler with some of his comrades, entred the Tower-gates, rifled the Kings lodgings, barbarously entreating the Kings Mother both with bad language, and worse blows, where they apprehended, as he was performing the Ceremonies of the Church, the Reverend *Simon* Archbishop of *Canterbury* (who formerly had convented their Prolocutor *John Ball*, for promulgating his dangerous, if not damnable, positions) and strook off his head. They broke up all the Prisons, and set at liberty all the Malefactors there, and then came to meet the King at *Mile End*. The King demanded what it was that was with such hostile manner required, when with a confused noise some cried manumission, others maintenance, other to have their Lands freed from Service; every one what he thought would most conduce to his own particular end. The King promiseth to call a Parliament, and thereby (which now he granted) promised to establish what to that purpose should be set down in writing, and further gave a general Pardon and safe conducts for their return every man to his own habitation; whereupon the most of the seeming best of these bad Rebels, disbanded and went homeward, and the *Londoners* returned. But Tyler (whose aim was the robbing of the City of *London*, and the extirpation of all any way noted for Learning) with twenty thousand of the dregs, and skum of his rake-hells, came to *Smithfield*: To whom the King (guarded with a small strength) attended on amongst others, by *William Walworth* Major, *John Philpot* the darling of the Mariners, and *Nicholas Bramber*, Aldermen of *London*, and Sir *John Newton*, and some few others (men of resolute and brave spirits) presented himself, but was by that traitourly Tyler received in that base and scornful manner, and with so many affronts to his followers, that *John Philpot* told the King the abuses were insufferable, and so please him but to command his Lieutenant, meaning the Major, to arrest the Traytor, he would lose his life, if it were not accordingly performed. Nevertheless the King doubting the sequel, was unwilling to provoke a mad Dog, and with fair speeches and pleasing countenance, he began to expostulate with Tyler, and was willing to condescend to some dishonourable conditions (being betwixt Sovereign and Subject) to content him; but the more he found the King pliable, the more

In missæ celebratione deprehensum.



1381  
A. 3

Digito labiis  
admoto, &c.

The Mayor  
slayeth wat.  
Tyler.

also a Jim al  
-sigah aneitar  
-malmad

Perditus &  
pernitiosus  
Presbyter.

The Lord  
Chief Justice  
slain by rebels

affronted the insult, and the more unreasonable were his demands, and to have abolished, affirming with an execrable oath, before night all the Law of England should pass through this straight, clapping his hand to his mouth. In the mean time *Philpot* had sent into the City to Sir *Robert Knowles* who was left behind to keep the multitude quiet, to make known the Kings danger and his own, conjuring them by their duty to the King and to make all possible speed to their reskues; and afterward prompting the Mayor what to do, having by Sir *John Newtons* help covertly drawn close together as many of the Kings followers as were present, he attended the sheriff. *Tyler* persisting in his insupportable arrogance, demanded the Kings dagger of his Esquire that held it, which being by the Kings command delivered him: he further presumed to command the Esquire to give him the sword also: to whom the young Spark bravely said, a Kings sword would but ill become a knaves hand; wherewith *Tyler* rising up, offering to approach towards the Kings Page: The Mayor of London that only awaited the occasion of hazzarding his life in suprising so proud a Traitor, snatcheth the Kings dagger out of the sheath in *Tylers* hand, and then sheathes the same in *Tylers* body, whereupon *Philpot* with his sword saluted him on the cockscorn that he fell to the ground slain. This sudden action at first dismayed the King, but being assured of present succour of the Citizens, he took courage, and being rounded by his Nobles, they gave defiance to the headless rout, which wanted not will, nor means to revenge their Captains death: but each one expecting when another should begin they stayed looking one upon another, until news was brought that the Londoners under the conduct of Sir *Robert Knowles* in battel array approached: and then they sling down their weapons, and every one shifted for himself, and quit the field, at which the King wonderfully rejoyced, and in the same place made *William Walworth*, *John Philpot*, *Ralph Standish*, *John Laund*, *Nicholas Twisfield* and *Nicholas Bramber* Knights; whilst these tumults were thus in agitation, by the procurement of *John Wall* that pernicious Priest, one *John Wraw* (a whelp of the same litter, a Chaplain for the Devils good grace) was sent into *Norfolk* and the adjacent Countries, to incite upon the like motives the Commons to insurrection, and to joyn with *Tyler*; which took so suddenly, that in *Hartfordshire* about *Saint Albons*, and at *Saint Edmonds-bury* in *Suffolk*, upon *Corpus Christi* day, to the number of fifty thousand were assembled; and under the conduct of one *Robert Westborne* an Inn-keeper: They outrageously destroyed and demolished all the Noble and Gentlemens houses of note: And put to death all the Professors of Law they could find.

They took Sir *John Cavendish* Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench, strook off his head, and placed the same upon the Pillory in *S. Edmonds-bury*. They beheaded likewise *John of Cambridge* the Prior thereof, and *John de Lakinghuith*, one of the Priors Commoignes, carrying them in triumph, and placed them on poles upon the said Pillory.

They caused the Covent to surrender up all Obligations and writings obligatory in their custody, and all their Charters of priviledge which *Canutus* their Founder had bestowed upon that House, which the more to endear themselves to their favour, they delivered cancelled to the Townsmen. In like manner in *Norfolk* under the command of *John Litistar* a Dyer of *Norwich* the like outrages are committed, from whose fury the Earl of

*Suffolk*

*Suffolk* narrowly escaped, at *Northwaltham* in *Norfolk*; they stiled their Captain King of the Commons, and enforced the Lords, *Scales* and *Morley* with divers worshipful Knights to attend upon him at the Table, which for that *Sir Robert Saul* refused to do, they beat out his brains.

*Henry Spencer* Bishop of *Norwich*, to suppress these insolents, by his example drew the Knights and Gentlemen residing thereabout, to arm themselves, and to take the field, who afterwards routed the Rebels, and took their Captain (whose head he caused presently to be strook off,) and their Chaplain *Wraw* prisoners; from thence *Wraw* was sent to *London* to receive his Trial, where he was afterwards according to his demerits hanged, drawn and quartered.

Likewise, upon the *Saturday* following *Corpus Christi* day, the Townsmen of *Cambridge* by threats enforced one *James Grancester* to be their Leader, exacting an oath from him and his brother *Thomas* to be loyal to their Incorporation, and to joyn with them in execution of any their designs. And presently they fell upon *Corpus Christi* College, which they miserably ransackt, tearing, burning, or spoiling, whatsoever Writings, Charters and Books they could come at; and did take away all the Plate, Vestments, Treasure they could find, enforcing the Seniors and Students of that College, by oath to renounce and disclaim all, and whatsoever Charters, Grants, Privileges, and Franchises had been formerly bestowed upon that House, and to acknowledge from thenceforth subjection to the Mayor and Burgessees of *Cambridge*. From thence they went like a torrent to *Saint Maries Church*, where they broke up the Chests, and from thence took out all the Treasure and Church ornaments; fury being on foot, left nothing undone that was barbarous, and passion having drowned reason, they cared not what mischief they did, nor to whom, so as they might make their malice sufficiently perspicuous to the Clergy. From *Cambridge* they went to the Priory of *Bernwell*, a mile off, which they like Sarazens defaced, felling down the Trees, spoiling the Walks, and setting fire to what remained there undefaced. Tired with doing, but not sorry for having done so many crimes, they retired to *Cambridge*, where in the Market place they consumed with fire, all the Ordinances, Constitutions and Statutes of the University, and all other the particular Books, Rowls, Parchments and Leidgers they could come at, taking up the ashes, and flinging them in the Air, crying away with these Clerks cunning; and then in the dark of the night, every one shifted for one, and stole away.

The King for punishment of these and other like offenders, sent the Lord Chief Justice *Tresilian* and *Sir Roger Sales*, and other Commissioners into all those parts where Insurrection had been made.

From *Coventry*, *John Wall*, who had seconded *Wall* and *Wraw* in inciting the multitude to Insurrection, is sent to the King, against whose forwardness in practise towards Authority, and forwardness in profession to sow such seeds of Seditious in his Sermons, that thereby the people were both incited and encouraged to Rebellion, such sufficient information was given that he was executed for high Treason.

This general flame of combustion being extinct, the King studieth the advancement of his Favourites, so that within short time after *Michael de la Poole*, son and heir of *Sir William de la Poole* Knight and Banneret (say some, but others one of that name, a Merchant in *London*) was made Lord Chancellor of *England*; and created Earl of *Suffolk*; and *Robert Vear* Earl of *Oxford*, the fourth of that name, and ninth Earl thereof,

An. 1382.

R. 5.

The Bishop of *Norwich* suppresseth the Rebels in *Norfolk*.

*Cambridge* spoiled by the Rebels.

An. 1383.

R. 5.



An. 1383.

R. 3.

The first Mar-  
quess created.

was created Marquess of *Dublin* (being the first man within this Realm that was enobled with that title :) But they grew in hate, as they did in honour; for many of ancient Nobility did stomach their undeserved (as they deemed it) advancement, and with these the votes of the people generally went; But the Kings intemperate affection was peremptory and violent, not regarding envy until he could not resist it.

An. 1384.

R. 6.

The year following, the new Marquess was created Duke of *Ireland*: The lower House of Parliament exhibited a Bill of grievances against the Chancellor, desiring his answer thereto, and Tryal thereupon; the particulars whereof were 1. For that he had abused the King in farming the profits and revenues of the Crown; 2. For profusely wasting the Treasure in ryotous prodigality, and unnecessary expences; 3. For being dived deep into the Kings debt; 4. For being careless and corrupt in his Office; 5. For deceiving and discrediting the King in his accounts and disbursement (the particulars whereof were annexed to the Bill) with divers objections of, both dishonesty of body, and dishonour in his private actions, and publick Office. This Earl from *London* sent a Student to *Oxford*, returned, well clothed to the Court, and there suddenly grown great, could not moderate his change, but in his height of prosperity, layed open the baseness of his inclination and condition, which before were either cunningly covered or craftily cloked from being discovered; And serving a weak Ruler, in an eminent place, with an ill mind, he made open sale of his Princes honour; But the King willing to connive at, or remit the offences, silently let the complaints slip, with a short audience and no examination, expressing himself thereby neither much grieved at the offences, nor well pleased with the complaint: A Subsidy is required, but answer was made, there was no need of it, since the Kings wants might be furnished and supplied with his own debts due from the Chancellor, if called in, neither was it if otherwise, to any purpose, to be granted so long as the monies should be issued by such persons as formerly had been, and was likely to be again.

A Subsidy de-  
manded and  
denied.

The complaints against the Chancellor are recontinued with that earnestness, that the King is perswaded, that it is neither for his Honour, or safety, to justify him; for to private men it is sufficient, if themselves abstain from wrong; but Princes must provide that none do wrong under them; For by conniving and abetting the faults of their Officers, they make them too often seem their own: and they will be objected against them, upon the first occasion. The importunity of both Houses, wrought the Kings consent to a Commission, to authorize divers Noble men, to hear and determine all grievances and objections against the Chancellor; Thereupon a Subsidy is granted, but with *Proviso*, that the money be disposed of by the Commissioners agreed upon, to the benefit of the Realm.

The King moved that the heirs of *Charles Blayes*, who laid claim to the Dutchy of *Britain*, should be delivered to the French, upon the receipt of 30000 Marks by them to that purpose offered, the same to be delivered to the Duke of *Ireland*, for the recovery of those possessions the King had given him in *Ireland*, which was assented unto, so as before the Feast of *Easter* following the Duke should depart thither, and there remain; at so high a rate they valued his riddance out of the Realm; The charge of receipt issuing of the Subsidy, was committed to *Richard Earl of Arundel*.

Commis-  
sioners appoin-  
ted to receive  
the Subsidy.

The Duke of *Gloucester* and the said Earl, were made Commissioners concerning the Earl of *Suffolk*, who by the Kings absence is left to himself,

to

to answer the objected misdemeanours, whereof he made the Kings blind favour his priviledge and protection, presuming never to see that either altered or over-ruled: He is convict of many crimes, deposed from his Office, his goods are confiscate to the King, and himself adjudged to execution, which was submitted to the Kings pleasure, and under sureties the Earl of *Suffolk* was permitted to go at large.

*John Fourth Bish. of Durham*, another minion of the Kings, is removed from being Lord Treasurer; he was a man of little depth either in learning or judgement, only one that had the art of seeming, making a formal shew of whatsoever he spake or did, and rising from a poor estate to so high a pitch of honour: he too excessively exercised his ryot, and ambition, not able to qualifie the lusts and desires his former wants had kindled.

This business blown over: the King returns to *London*, and presently receives the Earl of *Suffolk*, the Duke of *Ireland*, and the Archbishop of *York* to greater grace and familiarity than before; These Triumvirs incense the King against the Nobles, that were best deserving, partly upon disgraces desertfully done unto them; partly upon malicious emulation, to see others so generally beloved (except of the King) and themselves so contemptible; And that their private spleen might carry some shew of publick respect, they suggested to the King, he was but half, yea not half a King; For (said they) if we respect matters of State, you bear the sword, but they sway it; you have the shew, but they the authority of a Prince, using your name as a colourable pretext to their proceedings, and your Person as a cipher to make their number the greater by the addition thereof, without which they could be nothing, neither are you any thing more by being so placed; Look you to the duties of your Subjects, and you shall find it is at their devotion; for you cannot command nor demand, but with such limitations and exceptions as they please to propose; And for your private actions, your bounty (the most to be observed good vertue in a Prince,) is restrained, your expences measured, and your affections confined, to frown, and favour, as they shall please to prescribe you. What Ward is so much under government of his Guardian? Wherein will they, or can they more abridge you: Except they should take from you the place, as they have done the power of a Prince; And in this we think they may justly be feared, having so great might, and means to give wings to ambitious minds; Power is never safe when it doth exceed: Ambition is like the Crocodile, growing as long as it liveth; or like the Ivy, which rising at the foot, will overpeer the highest wall; it is already grown from a spark, to a flame, and more than time it is such increase were stayed; For such over-ruling Princes preface their overthrow, and such cutting them short hath turned to cutting them off; their minds are suspicious, their power dangerous, and therefore the opportunity must warily be prevented. The Kings youth, and weakness, made him apprehensive, and framed his mind to a full (but needles) fear; he was much moved with the removal of his Chancellor, and Treasurer out of their offices, and the Duke of *Ireland* out of the Realm, supposing it a restraint to his regal authority, not to have absolute power in all things, to give, and forgive, at his pleasure; when these privy incensers perceived the Kings humor once sharpened, they so plied him with plausible persuasions, that (though naturally he was of no cruel disposition, yet they drew him to many violent, and indirect courses) partly upon negligence to search out the truth, partly upon delight to be flattered, neither did they

An. 1384.  
R. 6.

The Lord  
Treasurer re-  
moved by  
Parliament.



An. 1386.  
R. 6.

long defer their stratagems. At first it was plotted, that the Duke of *Glocester* and certain others of that part, should be invited to supper in *London*, and there made away. Sir *Nicholas Brember*, who had been late Mayor of the City, whose abundance of wealth supplied the want of honest qualities in him, was a busie agent in that butcherly business; But *Richard Exon* then Mayor, discovered the plot, and thereof warned the Duke to avoid the present peril, and afterwards to be wary of the like.

An. 1387.  
R. 9.

*Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, and *Thomas* Earl of *Nottingham*, commanded at Sea the Kings Fleet, and took an hundred Sail of the Enemies Ships, well fraught with Wines, and well appointed for Fight; they also relieved and fortified *Brest*, and demolished two Forts the Enemies had placed against it. The Earls in this service for their Valour and Curtesie, got great reputation; and their actions did by so much appear the more honourable, by how much the infortunate insufficiency of other Generals before (by whose either rashness, or cowardize, or both, many Souldiers had been defeated, and every year) had been famous before for one loss or other. At their return, the King more inclinable to revenge displeasure, than reward desert, (for it is troublesome to be grateful, but revenge is pleasant, and preferred before gain) entertained them with strangeness of speech, and by his countenance seemed he was ill pleased for that they had deserved so well.

The King accompanieth the Duke of Ireland, towards Wales.

About this time the Duke of *Ireland* repudiated his Wife, whose Mother (*Isabel*) was Daughter to *Edward* the Third, and took in her place a Vintners Daughter a *Bohemian*. The King little regarded this indignity done unto his Cousin German (though by her often petitioned for redress.) And in this so great confusion of State, let it pass unreprieved, as obscured with greater vices. But *Glocester* her Uncle took it in disdain, as an indignity offered to the Blood Royal, and intended revenge, and so much did intimate to the Duke of *Ireland*, who plotted under hand the destruction of *Glocester*; the one openly and manlike persecuted his enmity: but the other cowardly and covertly, and therefore the more dangerously; *Glocester* was nearer and greater in Blood; *Ireland* in favour; this being Uncle to the King: that bearing himself as the Kings Fellow; the one pretended all he did for the honour of the State, the other for humour of the King; much malice did pass; but in opposition of such equal powers, there is seldom small difference in harms.

The term assigned the Duke *Year* for his departure into *Ireland* is past, and lest his stay might breed some stir in *England*, he still shewed himself busie for preparing for his journey, and at last (though long first,) made a show of setting forth; the King went in great state to accompany him to Ship; and the Earl of *Suffolk* with Justice *Tresilian* and the rest of that side either for favour followed, or for fear durst not stay behind; together they went to *Wales*, and there the Dukes Irish journey was finished. There they debate in Councel, how the Lords might best be surpris'd; many Plots were invented, all that were worst pleased well, without respect of danger or disgrace, but few stood without likelihood of event to their desires, and therefore none was fully concluded on; at length they leave *Wales*, and come to *Nottingham* Castle, where the high Sheriffs of every County are summoned to appear, and strictly interrogated what strength if need should require, they were able to back the King with against the Lords; the King was generally answered that the Commons did so favour the Lords, and were

were so well resolved of their dutiful Love and Loyalty to their Sovereign, that they durst make promise of no power to be raised against them. Then they were commanded to elect no Knights, Citizens, or Burgeses for the Parliament, but only such as the King should approve; whereto they said, it was an hard matter in times of suspect to rob the people of their ancient privilege for choosing Knights and Burgeses for the Parliament; and after some few other matters which were either unseasonably moved, or unreasonably obtained, to small purpose, the Sheriffs were licensed to depart. Then were assembled *Tresilian* Chief Justice of the Kings Bench, *Belknap* Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, *Holt*, *Stilthorp*, *Burgh*, Justices of the Common Pleas, men learned in Court-law, to please those in highest place; these were charged upon their allegiance particularly to answer these propositions.

An. 1387.

R. 9.

1. Whether the Statute, Ordinance, and Commission (meaning that granted against the Duke of *Suffolk*) set out the last Parliament, did derogate from the Royal Prerogative of the King?

2. How they were to be punished that did procure that Statute to be Enacted?

3. How they were to be dealt with that provoked the King to consent thereto?

4. What punishment did they deserve that compelled the King to yield consent?

5. What did they merit that resisted the King to exercise his regal authority, in remitting or releasing any penalties or debts due to him?

6. When a Parliament is assembled, and the affairs of the State, and cause of convoking the Parliament declared, and Articles limited by the King, upon which only the Lords and Commons should meddle, the Lords and Commons will proceed upon other, and not those by the King appointed, until the King hath given answer to the other by them propounded; whether in this case the King ought to have the rule of the Parliament, and so to order the fact, that the Lords and Commons upon the Articles limited by the King; or that they should first have answer of the King to the Articles by them propounded before they proceeded any further?

7. Whether may the King at his pleasure dissolve the Parliament, and command the Lords and Commons to depart?

8. Since the King may at his pleasure remove any Officers and Justices, and punish them for their offences, whether may the Lords and Commons, without his leave, accuse his Officers and Justices in Parliament, yea or no?

9. What punishment have they deserved who moved a Parliament, that the Statute whereby King *Edw. Carnarvan* was deposed, should be brought forth, by view whereof the last Statute and Commission aforesaid were framed?

10. Whether the judgment given in the last Parliament against *Michael de la Poole* Earl of *Suffolk*, were erroneous and revocable yea or no?

These Propositions were drawn by the direction of the Chief Justice *Tresilian*, to which the aforementioned Justices answer as followeth.

1. They did derogate from the Honour of the King, because extorted against his will.

2. 3. That they deserved to be punished by death, except the King in mercy would remit.

4. 5. Worthy to be punished as Traitors.

6. Who-



An. 1387.  
R. 9.

6. Whosoever resisteth the Kings rule in that point, was punishable as a Traitor.

7. That the King may at his pleasure dissolve the Parliament, and whoso afterwards shall presume to proceed against the Kings manifest will, as in a Parliament, is worthy the punishment of a Traitor.

8. That they cannot; whosoever doth the contrary, deserves a Traitors punishment.

9. As well the mover as the bringer of that Statute to the house, are worthy the same death.

10. And lastly, that the said judgment seemed erroneous and revocable; in witness whereof they with *John Lockton* the Kings Sergeant at Law subscribed, and so under their Seals at Arms sent it.

When those hard sentences of Death and Treason were under general and large terms thus fastned upon the Lords, the King supposed his attempts against them, whether by violence, or colour of Law, sufficiently warranted, but his power both ways (as it was terrible against weak resisters, so against such mighty defendants) was of small force to effect that which he so much affected; yet he did not omit his best endeavours, and first accounting the Lords as condemned persons, he made division of their Lands and Goods amongst those he favoured: then he waged Souldiers to be in readiness for his assistance, and sent the Earl of *Northumberland* to arrest the Earl of *Arundell* at his Castle in *Rygate*, where he then lay; but he, either upon advertisement, or suspicion of the Kings intent, bandied himself so strong, that when the Earl of *Northumberland* came thither to him, he dissembled his intent, and left his errand untold. The Duke of *Glocester* having secret intelligence of the Kings displeasure, and of his projects, sent the Bishop of *London* to persuade the King to entertain a more favourable opinion of him, solemnly swearing unto the Bishop, that he never intended any thing against the King, either in person or state: the Bishop, not unskilful to joyn profitable persuasions with honesty, declared to the King, that the ground of his displeasure against the Lords was either by false suggestions of their enemies, or mis-construction of some of their actions by himself. Then declared he how desirous they were of his grace and favour, how faithful and forward they promised to persist in all dutiful service; and further intimated how honorable this agreement would be to the King, and how profitable to the Kingdom; nay, which was above both, how pleasing it would be to God, and how displeasing to him, and dangerous it would be to both sides, if these troubles should increase. The King by this speech seemed inclinable to atonement; but *De la Poole* Earl of *Suffolk*, a turbulent person against quiet counsel, standing near the King, quickly hardened his mind against all impression of friendship, by means whereof contention arose betwixt the Bishop and the Earl, which violently brake out into heat of words. The Earl reproached the Lords with the ordinary objection against great Men (popularity and ambition:), sparing no spight of speech, but using all Rhetorick to aggravate matters against them. The Bishop replied, the Earl was thus fiercely bent, not upon any necessity of his own, or respect unto the King, but only to satisfy his bloody and ambitious humour, wherein he was so immoderate, that rather than the Lords should not be destroyed, he would overwhelm them with the ruins of the State. For tumults might be indeed raised by men of little courage like himself, but must be maintained by hazard, and ended with the loss of the most valiant:

A good Office  
of the Bishop  
of London.

An. 1387.  
R. 9.

valiant: that neither his counsel against what was desired in this cause, was to be followed, (being the principal firebrand of the disturbance) nor his complaints against any man in any thing to be regarded, being himself a condemned person, and one that held his life, and livelihood, of the Kings favourable mercy, wherewith the King, was so exceedingly wroth, that he commanded the Bishop out of his presence. The Duke of Gloucester hearing this, signifies the danger to the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, and *Darby*, inciting them to Arms: and thereupon they confederate themselves, for a common defence: For in so doubtful and suspected peace, open war (said they) was the better safety. The King having intelligence of their courses, indeavoured to prevent the Lords in joyning their Forces; and to that end sent some power, either to set upon the Earl of *Arundel* in his lodging, or to intercept him in his passage to the Duke. But the Earl had marched all night, before their coming; and so unencountred he came to the Duke, with whom he found the Earls with a sufficient company, as well to make an attempt, as to stand upon resistance. This much distracted the King; being now in choice either to relent or resist, much disdainning the one, and distrusting the other; his followers also were divided in counsel, some fretting at the disgrace, others fainting at the danger. The Archbishop of *Tork* perswaded with the King, that occasion was now offered to shew himself a King indeed. If he would raise a Royal Army; and by main might, beat down the boldness of their presumption. This was more readily advised, than done, saith another. The adversaries Army is mighty, the Commanders are great Men, both for courage and skill, and greatly favoured by the Commons; whereby that which is accounted so ready pay, may prove a desperate debt: Therefore it were better with some show of yielding to enter into conditions of quiet, than by standing upon too nice punctilions of Honor, to hazzard the doubtful event of battel, wherein the King cannot joyn, but by his weakning; nor loose without danger of his undoing. There was present old Sir *Hugh Linne*, a good Souldier, but a shuffling brain, of whom the King in merriment demanded in this case what was as he thought fittest to be done? Sir *Hugh* swore, blood and wounds, let us charge home, and kill every mothers son, and so we shall make quick dispatch of the best friends you have in the Kingdom. This giddy answer, more wayed with the King, than if it had been spoken in grave and sober sort. And thus it often hapheth, that wise counsel is more sweetly followed, when it is tempered with folly: and earnest is the less offensive, if it be delivered in jest. In the end the raising of Arms is laid aside, not as displeasing (being so agreeable to former proceeding) but as despairing to prevail thereby. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* with the Bishop of *Ely* Lord Chancellor, were sent unto the Lords, to understand the cause of their Assembly: Answer was made, that it was for the safety of themselves, the honour of the King, and the overthrow of those that sought destruction of both: but by the mediation of the Bishops it was concluded, that the Lords should come before the King at *Westminster* upon caution of his protection: and there have publick audience, concerning their grievances. The Bishop of *Ely* giving private promise, faithfully to discover any danger he could descry, who accordingly gave notice (a little before the Lords were appointed to come,) of an await, that was purposed for their entrapping, at the place called the Mews near *London*, advised them either to make stay, or to come provided, but rather to make stay than to come forward, lest further provo-



An. 1387.

R. 9.

The Bishops  
sent to the Ba-  
rons.

provocation might make reconciliation more difficult: whereupon they came not at the time appointed. The King marvelling at their faillance, demanded of the Bishop of *Ely* the cause: who boldly answered that the Lords found want of true meaning; and that they neither did, nor durst repose assurance in the Kings words; which they apparently saw was but a means to ensnare them. The King made the matter very strange unto him, protesting that he was free from deceit both in consent and knowledge: and presently gave command to the Sheriffs of *London* to go to that place, and to slay or take all such as they found there in wait; whether this was but a countenance of his, or whether he was not privy to the practice, it is not assuredly known, but the matter was not false, but the place mistaken. For Sir *Thomas Tryvet*, and Sir *Nicolas Bramber*, had assembled divers armed men at *Westminster*, to assault the Lords at their best advantage: but perceiving the discovery of their plot, they secretly dissolved their company, and sent them away.

An. 1388.

R. 10.

The Lord  
Chancellors  
speech to the  
Lords.

Then the Lords upon new faith for their security, came to the King to *Westminster*, but brought a guard with them, so many, as in a place where they were entirely favoured, was able to defend them from any sudden defeat. The King upon their coming, entred into *Westminster* great Hall, apparelled in his Royal robes: and when he was placed in his seat, and composed himself to Majesty and State, the Lord Chancellor made a large Oration to the Lords in the Kings name, wherein he declared the heinousness of their offence, and the greatness of their peril: how easie a matter it had been for the King, to have levied a power sufficient to have destroyed them, and yet for the general spare of his Subjects blood, and in particular favour, to the Duke and other Nobles, he made choice to encounter, and overcome them rather by friendship, than by force, and therefore was willing not only to pardon their riot, but also to hear their grief, and in a quiet and peaceable way to redress them. The Lords for answer, alledged the cause of their taking Arms, to be, first, the necessity of their own defence; secondly, their true love both to King and Realm, whose fame and fortune did daily decline, by means of certain Traytors, who lived only by the dishonour of the one, and decay of the other, like moths in Books and Garments, that thrive by others loss. Those whom they particularly challenged to be Traytors, were *Robert Vear* Duke of *Ireland*, *Nevill* Archbishop of *York*, *De la Poole* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Robert Tresilian* Lord Chief Justice, Sir *Nicholas Bramber*, with certain others more secret, but little better. And to justifie this their appeal, they threw down their gloves, and offered themselves to the tryal of the Combate. The King replied, that oftentimes the causes of action being good, yet if the means want moderation and judgment, the ends prove pernicious; and therefore though these complaints should be true, yet were these courses not tolerable, which did bear an open face of Rebellion, and by the licentiousness of the multitude might soon have sorted to such a period; for it is more easie to raise the people than to rule them, whose fury being once stirred, will commonly be discharged some ways. But (saith he) since we have broken this broil, we will not by combating, give occasion of new; but at our Parliament which I will instantly convoke, both you and they shall be present, and Justice indifferently done to all. In the mean time I take you all into my Protection, that neither of you shall endanger or endamage other, wishing the Lords to remember, that as Princes must rule without limitation, so Christian Subjects must use a mean in their liberty. Then he caused the Dukes and the Earls, which all this while kneeled, to arise and go with him

him into his private Chamber, where they talked together, and after with a most friendly farewell, he licensed them to depart. They of the adverse part, were absent at this meeting; and if they had not, it might have been feared, the Kings presence should have been but a poor protection unto them.

An. 1388.  
R. 10.

The Kings demeanour herein was divers ways censured; some argued him fearful, others moderate and merciful, in preventing the effusion of his subjects blood. The Lords were well pleased with his good will and favour; which as by base and servile means they would not seek, being thus gotten, they did highly esteem; yet they thought it the safest course, not to separate themselves, suspecting the mutability of the King, and the malice of their enemies, of whom, neither knew they where they were, nor what they did intend, and being persons of great wealth, and greater power, but most bent to hurtful practises, they were feared not without cause. For the Duke of Ireland, either by setting on, or sufferance of the King, was all this time mustering of Souldiers in *Cheshire*, or *Wales*, where he gathered an Army, both for number, and goodness of men sufficient, if another had been General, to have carried aside; whereof the Lords advertised, they divided themselves, and beset the ways by which the Duke should pass to *London*, with an intent to encounter him before he did increase his power, and countenance his action with the name of the King. The Earl of *Darby* met him, at a place called *Babbelake* near *Burford*, where the Earls Souldiers, full of hearty courage, disliking nothing more than delay, thinking loss of time was a procrastinating of the victory, came on bravely. But the Duke being mutinous, but not fit for action, apter to stir strife, than stint it, upon sight of their approach would have fled: But Sir *Thomas Mullineux*, an approved Souldier, Constable of *Chester*, upon whose leading all the Country men did depend, perswaded the Duke that this was but a part of the Forces, led only by the Earl of *Darby* a man no way eminent; and if they could not bear through that resistance, it was in vain to expect any atchievement of honour by arms. Whereupon the Duke made stay, but his faint spirits were moved by this speech, rather to desire victory than hope it; his Souldiers also were dull, silent, and sad; and such as were rather ready to interpret, than execute the Captains command. They joyned Battel, but scarce ten ounces of blood was lost on both sides, before the Duke of *Ireland* set spurs to his Horse, and forsook the field: his Souldiers thereupon, more out of indignation than fear, refused their ranks: yielded to the Earl the honour of the field; Sir *Thomas Mullineux* flying, was overtaken and slain by Sir *Thomas Mortimer*: the rest submitted themselves to the discretion of the Conquerours, making them the Lords of their lives and death: yielding was no sooner offered, than accepted by the Earl, who commanded that none should be reproached or ill intreated, but the obstinate: which was obeyed, the Souldiers willing to shew favour to their Country-men, who were led into this action, partly upon simplicity, partly for company sake. The Gentlemen and those of the better sort, were retained by the Earl; the rest unarmed, were licensed at their pleasure to depart.

The Duke in his flight was enforced to take a River, and in the midst of the stream forsook his Horse, and swam to the other side: and by the benefit of the night escaped, first into *Scotland*, then into *Flanders*, and lastly into *France*, from whence he never returned; his horse with his helmet and gauntlets with other abilliments of his were found; whereupon it was generally conceived



An. 1388.

R. 19.

conceived that he was drowned; and as in great uncertainties it often hap-  
peth, some affirmed they saw him die with the manner thereof, which other  
men, either glad to hear, or not too curious to search, did easily believe. His  
Trunk also was taken with certain Lettels of the Kings therein, the con-  
tents whereof were for his present repair to *London*, with all power and  
spend he could make, and the King would be there ready to die in his de-  
fence, so unskilful was the Kings government, that to pleasure a few, he did  
not respect to give discontent to many. The Earl of *Suffolk* hereupon dis-  
guised, fled to *Calice*, from whence he never returned; he was a cruel  
spoiler, and a careless spender: in war contemptible, in peace insupportable,  
an enemy to all counsel of others, and in his own conceit wondrously wise,  
obstinately contentious, of a quick wit, and ready speech, both which he  
abused, to the cunning commending of himself, and crafty depraving of  
others; he was less loved, but more heard of the King, than the Duke, the  
more bustling man, and the more hateful. The Duke being indeed guilty of  
no great fault, but the Kings excessive favour, in their course of good and  
bad fortune, both of them alike famous.

This Duke of *Ireland* was *Robert de Vere* the fourth of that name, and  
ninth Earl of *Oxford*; he married *Philip* the Daughter of *Ingeram de Guise-  
nes* by *Isabel* his wife, the Daughter of *Edward* the third, from whom he was  
divorced, and took to his second wife *Lantegorine* a *Bohemian*, of an un-  
known Parentage, but died without issue.

This *Michael de la Beule* Earl of *Suffolk* married *Isabel* Daughter of *Sir J.  
Wingfield*, and had issue five Sons, *Thomas*, *William*, *Michael*, *Richard*, and  
*John*, and three Daughters, *Margaret* married to *William* Lord *Ferrers* of  
*Groby*, *Elinor*, and *Anne*.

The Archbishop of *York*, *Justice Tresilian*, and others of that faction ran  
every man like Conies to their covert; yea, the King betook himself to the  
*Tower of London*, and there made provision for his Winter abode, having  
all his courses now crossed; first, by rashness in taking of arms, and after-  
ward by cowardliness in maintaining them.

The Earl of *Darby* signified this success to his Associates by Letters, but  
without vaunting: his speeches also were moderate, rather extenuating than  
extolling his fact, but by stopping his fame it increased; men esteeming his  
high thoughts by his humble words, and his conquest of greater attempts by  
contempt of this. The Lords met and marched together to *London*, whi-  
ther with forty thousand men they came upon Saint *Stephens* day, and first  
they shewed themselves in battel array, in the fields within view of the  
King then encamped in the Suburbs. The Mayor of *London* and his brethren  
came forth and offered the Lords free entertainment within the City, but  
not accepted. They give liberal allowance of victual and necessities to the  
Souldiers.

This discord seemed to draw to a dangerous distraction of the Common-  
wealth, the vanquished part being full of malice, and the Conquerors of pre-  
sumption: the one wanting power, the other right to command and rule.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* and certain others of the neutrality fear-  
ing the sequel, perswaded the King to come to a treaty with the Lords;  
but he made shew but of a slight regard he made of these dealings; let them  
(with he) stay until their numerous power have wearied them, and eat out  
their provision: and then we will find a time to talk with them at my  
leasure. But the Lords suspecting the device, stopt all passages, and beset  
the

the *Thames*: generally protesting not to depart, without conference with the King face to face. The King having neither strength to resist, nor room to scape, consented to a Treaty: And to that end desired the Lords to come to him into the Tower; but they refused that place of meeting, upon fear of false measure, until the King permitted them to search diligently, and come as strongly as they thought meet; then they came to the King well guarded, and after a few cold Complements, and strange Salutations, they laid before him his proceedings against them at *Nottingham*, his Letters which he sent to the Duke of *Ireland*, contrary to his word, for the raising of Arms against them: His agreement with the *French* King for the yielding up of *Calice*, and other strong Holds which he had in possession in those Parts, with divers other points of dishonourable dealing, and negligent Government. What should the King then have done or said? all these objections were so evident and evil, that there was no place left either for denial or defence. Therefore ingenuously first with silence and patience, afterwards with tears and dejected countenance, he confessed his errors. And certainly the stiff stomachs of the Lords, more relented to those lukewarm drops, than they would have done to his greatest violence. A meeting was concluded the next day at *Westminster*, there to treat of these and other necessary affairs of the Realm: Then the Duke and the rest of the Lords departed, except the Earl of *Darby*, who stayed Supper with the King; and all time kept him in his proposed resolution: But when he was also gone, some of the abusers of the King's care, suggested that his going thither, was neither seemly nor safe, and would not only bring to his Person present danger and contempt, but afterwards abasement, and abridgment to his Authority; whereupon the King's mind turned. But the Lords being now nettled, feeling the King's hand weak to govern the reins, became the more violent, and sent him word that if he did vacillate with them, and not come according to agreement, that they would chuse a new King, who should be more respective to his Nobility. This peremptory message so terrified the King, that he not only went thither, but permitted the Lords to take their pleasure; they caused him much against his liking to remove out of the Court, *Nevil* Archbishop of *York*, *Ford*, Bishop of *Duresme*, the Bishop of *Chichester* the King's Confessor, the Lord *Souch*, the Lord *Harmyworth*, Lord *Burnell*, Lord *Beaumont*, Sir *Alberick Vear*, Sir *Baldwyne Bereford*, Sir *Richard Alderbury*, Sir *John Worth*, Sir *Thomas Clifford*, and Sir *John Lovell*, taking caution of them for their appearance, at the next Sessions of Parliament. And certain Ladies likewise were expelled the Court, and went under sureties, the Ladies, *Mowen*, *Moling*, *Poynings*, wife to Sir *John Worth*. They put under arrest *Simon Burly*, *William Ellingham*, *John Salisbury*, *Thomas Trivet*, *James Bernis*, *Nicholas Dagworth*, and *Nicholas Bramber* Knights; *Richard Clifford*, *John Lincoln*, and *Richard Motford* Clerks; *John Beacham* the King's private Purse-bearer, *Nicholas Lake* Dean of the Chappel, and *John Blake* Barrister, were all committed to divers Prisons, to be forth coming at the next Parliament.

The Parliament began at *London* (though the King used many means to dash or deferr the same) to which the Lords came attended with full strength, pretending to repress any ryot that might arise, but in truth by terror thereof to draw all the manage of affairs to themselves. The Assembly continued from *Candlemas* untill *Whitsontide*, with great fear of some, and hope of others, and expectation of all: There *Tresilian* by the Councill

An. 1388.  
R. 12.

An. 1389.  
R. 13.



An. 1389.

R. 13.

Proceeding in  
the Parliament  
against Favou-  
rites.

of the Lords against the Kings mind, was condemned to be drawn and hanged; which judgment was presently executed. The like passed against and upon *Nich. Bramber, John Salisbury, James Barns, John Beauchamp, and John Blake, Robert Belknap, John Holt, Roger Fulthorpe, and Will. Burgh*, which last four were condemned to perpetual exile, though they opposed not, but intermeddled by constraint, to subscribe their opinions against the Lords.

Sir *Simon Burly* Captain of *Dover Castle*, was beheaded for conspiring to deliver the same to the *Frenchmen*; he was infinitely proud, equal to the meanest in Virtue, but in Port and Bravery not inferior to any Duke: Divers others were put to death or exile, and some (as it hapneth when the reins of fury are let loose) without any great cause.

The modesty  
of the Earl of  
*Darby*.

The Earl of *Darby* promoved no mans punishment, but did labour the Life and Liberty of many; insomuch that harsh language did pass betwixt the Duke of *Glocester* and him for so doing: whereby he purchased a favourable opinion amongst those of the contrary part. There was then also an Oath exacted from the King (an Example without President) to stand to the Government of the Lords; and an Oath of the Subjects to be loyal to the King. The King in taking this Oath of the Lords, discovered his inward conceit by his overt Countenance, looking pleasantly on those he favoured, and frowningly on others; by which untimely discovery, he made them more heedful, and himself more hateful: which was the occasion that afterward the revenge was prevented, which he so desired, and the mischief was procured which he so little feared. Lastly, a Subsidy was granted, and so the King coming (as it were) to capitulation, had allowance of the Name of a King, and the Lords the Authority and Majesty: So the Contention for that time ceased.

An Oath ex-  
acted from the  
King.

An. 1390.

R. 14.

The Year following, the King began to take upon him more Liberty and Rule: And upon extreme disdain, that both his Power and Pleasure were thus restrained, he bore a hard conceit against the partaking Lords, and having assembled them in the Council Chamber, he demanded of the Lords, of what years they took him to be? Being answered that he was somewhat above One and Twenty; then (replied he) I am of lawful Age to make use of my Birthright, and to have the Regiment in my own hands; and therefore you do me wrong to hold me still under tutelage, as though the condition of a King were harder than that of a Subject. This the Lords were unwilling to grant, and more unable to deny, and therefore they either kept silence, or spake to little or no purpose. Well, said the King, since I am no longer an Infant, I here renounce your Rule, and take upon me such free administration of the Justice of this Realm, as the Kings thereof, my Predecessors, heretofore lawfully used. And then commanding the Bishop of *Ely*, then Lord Chancellor, to resign the Great Seal; which received, the King put it up, and departed out of the Chamber; but returning, delivered the same to *William of Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*, thereby constituting him Lord Chancellor: Other Officers he likewise displaced, placing others in their room, partly to manifest his Authority, partly to satisfy his displeasure. He suspended *Glocester, Warwick*, and others from his Privy Council, and took in their rooms such as humor'd him more, but honour'd him less.

Creation of  
Barons by Let-  
ters Patents.

He (10. Octob. An. Regni sui 14.) Created *John Beauchamp* of *Holt*, Baron of *Kedermister* by Letters Patents, before which time all Barons were chosen by Writ: it was suggested to the King, that the Duke of *Glocester* was raising a power against him, which the King in private questioned the

Duke

Duke about; but upon examination it was found a tale; the Duke would not have pocketed up such dangerous reports, but that the Kings either delighting to be tickled with such false rumors, or upon some particular desire to pick a quarrel to the Duke, upon his Allegiance enjoyns him not to expostulate the matter, or to question the reporters.

An. 1390.  
R. 14.

The Citizens of *Geneva* implore aid against the Barbarians of *Africk*. The King sends a Company of choice Souldiers under the conduct of *Henry Earl of Darby*, who with them passed into *France*, and there joyned with the French Forces, when with might and minds united, they sailed together into *Africk*; at their arrival the Barbarians were ready on the shore to impeach their landing; but the Earl commanded his Archers to beat the Enemy from the shore, while he landed his other Forces. The French seconded the English; and so whilst both Companies contended, the one to be accounted an help, and the other to seem to need no help: The Enemies were forced to flee and leave the shore to the Christians. In this conflict were slain and taken seven Dukes of the Barbarians, and an infinite number of common people. The Christians marched directly to *Tunis*, which they laid siege to, and in short time took; the English first scaled the Walls, and reared thereon the English colours. In this City were taken and slain, above four thousand Barbarians; the Kings brother also was slain, but he himself fled into the Castle which was strongly sited, well fortified and furnished with men and amunition sufficient for a competent number, for some good space. This they besieged by the space of six weeks, in which space they lost many of their men by sickness; the Barbarians also were distressed for want of beverage, having too too many unprofitable mouthes to consume it: They sent to the Christians to desire peace, offering them a great sum of money to depart their Country. This was accepted upon condition, that they might freely carry with them all their prey and prisoners, and that the Barbarians should from thenceforth surcease pillaging the Coasts of *Italy* and *France*. This voyage had a prosperous and speedy end: The only service which the English and French performed together without breach of amity or jar in good quarter keeping.

An expedition  
into Barba-  
ry.

About these times certain discontentments grew betwixt the King and the *Londoners*, which set the favour of the one, and the faith of the other at great distance: The one was denying of the King the loan of one thousand pound (though offered to be lent by a *Lombard*, which received but a harsh language for his forwardness; ) another came upon the neck of that thus: one of the Bishop of *Salisbury*s servants, took a loaf of horse-bread out of a Bakers basket in the open Street, and by the rude demand of the one, and the rough denial of the other, choler was kindled, and the Bakers head bled: the neighbours would have stayed the Bishops man, but he fled into the Bishops house: The Constable came and demanded a peaceable delivery of the offender: The Bishops men shut the Gates and made resistance; then many threatned to fire their way, and began to use violence; but the Mayor and Officers upon notice, presently repaired thither, and partly by persuasions, that it was not courage, but outrage that they shewed, and chiefly by their Presence and Authority, they repressed the multitude, and preserved the Kings peace for that time: hitherto the harm was but small, and all might have been quieted without much ado, had not the Bishop kindled the fuell of unkindness afresh; for the *Londoners* were not only secretly suspected, but openly noted to be favourers and followers



An. 1392.  
R. 16.

The privileges of London seized into the Kings hands, are abridged, and part restored.

A intervenew between the Kings of France and England.

of *Wickliffs* but then new broched opinions, for which doing they were much maligned by the Clergy, especially by *John Bishop of Salisbury* Lord Treasurer, who made a grievous complaint hereof to *Thomas Archbishop of York*, and the Lord Chancellor affirming, that if upon every light pretence, the Citizens might be suffered in this sort to insult upon the Bishops, without reproof and punishment, they would bring into hazzard not only the Dignity and State, but the liberty also of the whole Church. Hereupon they went to the King and so incensed his displeasure against the Citizens (being prepared thereto by former provocations) that he was once resolved to make spoil of the City, and utterly raze it: But being perswaded to some more moderation in revenge, he caused the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen to be convented, who were at first resolved to have justified their innocency; and to that end had plighted faith each to defend other; but there was falsehood in fellowship, and one peached the other, and were all committed to prison, and then all the liberties of the City were seized and taken into his own hands, ordaining, that no Mayor should from thence forth be elected, but it should be at his pleasure to appoint a Warden: This Office was first conferred upon *Sir Edward Darlington*, who for his gentleness towards the Citizens, was shortly removed, and *Sir Baldwyne Radington*, a man of a more rugged disposition, placed in his room. The King likewise induced by the Archbishop of York, did remove the Terms and Courts of Justice from London to be kept at York, where they continued from *Midsummer, Anno 1393.* until *Christmass* following, to the great hindrance of the Citizens of London. At last, the King at the earnest entreaty of the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, called the *Londoners* before him to *Windfor*, and there he caused all their privileges of the City, both old and new, to be brought forth, whereof he restored some, and restrained the rest that might prove any way advantageous unto him: Nevertheless the *Londoners* were not fully received to favour, neither recovered they at that time, the Title or dignity of their Mayor. But shortly after the King came to London, where the Citizens entertained him with such shows of triumphs, and rich presents, as if it had been the day of his Coronation; for they supposed with their courtesies and cost, to have removed his displeasure; yet were they not fully restored to their liberties again, until they had paid ten thousand pound. Thus did they manifest in themselves a strange diversity of disposition, the Inferiors licentious to commit offence, and the Superiors patiently to endure punishment; having rashness and rage tempered with obedience: so were they at last easily punished, that could not at first possibly be ruled. The King passed over to Calice; the King of France came down to Arde; between the two Towns, a place was appointed and Tents erected for the Kings meeting, where after interchange of complement and expences, a cessation of Arms between them for thirty years was concluded: And the King espouseth *Isabel* the French Kings Daughter, of the age of eight years. The Duke of Gloucester was so offended, both with the Match and Truce, that he lost all patience, exclaiming that it was more meet to be in Arms than amity with the French, who being inferior to the English in courage, did ever outreach them in craft: and being too weak for war, did oftentimes prevail by peace. That the French Kings Daughter (being but a child) was an unmeet Match for King Richard, as well for the disparity of age, as for that the King had no issue by his first Wife, and was not like to have any by this, except perhaps in his old age: But when the Duke saw his arguments

ments would not avail ought, he suborned the Londoners to make petition to the King, that seeing there was peace with *France*, he would release them of the Subsidie, which was granted unto him in the last Parliament in respect of those warres to have been maintained. This suit was by them importunately followed, and much perplexed the King, untill at length the Duke of *Lancaster* assured them, that the procuring of this peace, had spent and lost the King three hundred thousand pounds, wherewith they were pacified, though not well pleased.

An. 1393.  
R. 17.

*Guido* Earl of *Saint Paul*, was sent by King *Charles* to visit and salute in his name, King *Richard* and his Queen *Isabel*; To this Earl, the King did relate with what fervency *Glocester* contended to disturb the peace, betwixt *England* and *France*, and that because his opinion was not therein followed, he moved the people to seditious attempts, bending himself wholly to maintain discord in his own Countrey, rather than not at all; he further reported what stiff strife the Duke in former times had stirred, which howsoever they were done, yet as they were delivered, sounded harsh and odious: Whereupon, the Earl replied, that the Duke was too dangerous a Subject to be permitted to live: that greatness was never safe, if once it grew excessive and bold: That the King ought not to affect the poor commendation of Clemency with his own peril, and that it touched him both in honour, to revenge the disgrace which he had by him formerly received: and in policy to prevent the dangers which he had some cause to fear. This set such an edge on the Kings displeasure, that from thenceforth he busied his brains about no one thing more than how to bring the Duke to his end. Whereupon, he began to pry more narrowly into his deportment, to watch his words, to observe his actions, and to interpret them to the worst, framing unto himself many vain, and needless fears: often would he to the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *York* complain of the Duke of *Glocesters* averiness in actions, and crossness in speech; whose answer thereunto was, that their brother indeed was more vehement than they could commend, yet his fierceness was joyned with faithfulness, and his crossness proceeded from care, lest the Common-wealth should decrease either in honour or possessions: and therefore the King had neither cause to fear or dislike him. The King seemeth to approve of their answers, and to be satisfied, that *Glocester* was what they reported him. And in the mean time *Lancaster* and *York* withdrew themselves to their private houses: The Duke of *Glocester* also went to *Plashey* in *Essex*. Upon this accidental separation, the King entered into Counsel with *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, his brother by the Mothers side, and *Thomas Mowbray* Earl of *Nottingham*, how the Duke of *Glocester* might be suppressed; the cruelty which was but wavering (nay wanting in the King) was soon confirmed by evil advice, and being once thereby inclinable to blood, he did not fail either of lewd example of vile action to follow, or direction of cruel counsel what to do. The plot is contrived, and according thereunto the King and the Earl of *Nottingham* ride together into *Essex*, as though they went on hunting: When they were in the Forrest, the Earl with a selected troop made stay in the Forrest, while the King with a small and unsuspected train came to *Plashey*, and thereby the Duke of *Glocester* was lovingly entertained and freely feasted, pretending action of present return; the King desires the Duke to accompany him to *London*, the Duke supposing that only to be intended indeed, which was in words and shew pretended, went to horse-back with the King, with a very small

An. 1396.  
R. 20.

The Earl of  
*S. Pauls* advice to the  
King.

The Duke of  
*Glocester* be-  
trayed.



An. 1396  
R. 18.

company, appointing the rest to follow him to *London*. They pleasantly rode together in familiar conference, until they came near the Earls Ambuscado, and then the King suddenly put spurs to his horse; the Duke following easily, was suddenly intercepted and stayed, and with violence hurried to the *Thames* side, and there blind-folded, unvoluntarily shipped, and conveyed to *Callice*. The next day the King did invite the Earl of *Warwick* to dinner, and gave him gracious countenance, but in his return he was arrested and sent to prison; and so a double breach of hospitality is committed: when feasted by the Duke of *Glocester* the Host is committed, and feasting the Earl of *Warwick* the Guest is imprisoned. In the like manner was the Earl of *Arundel* and his Son entrapped and imprisoned. In the *Isle of Wight*, the Common-people having notice of the apprehension of these three Noble men (whom they only affected) were in a great confusion, and there then wanted but a head, to draw them to commotion; every man murmured, and during no further, stood waiting for one to lead them the way, every one being ready to follow, that which any one was loth to begin. The Dukes of *Lancaster* and *York* upon information of these strange proceedings, gathered a strong Army, and came therewith to *London*, where they were readily received by the Citizens, contrary to the Kings express command. But this seemed to be a guard to themselves, rather than a regard to other. The King lay within four miles of *London*, with a great power of armed men drawn out of *Cheeshire* and *Wales*; and to pacifie the people, caused to be proclaimed, That the foresaid Lords were not questioned upon any old displeasures, but for offences lately committed: and for which they should be orderly appealed by the course of Law, and receive open and legal tryal in the next Parliament presently to begin. The like message was sent to *London* to the Dukes, to whom the King made faith, for the safety of their persons, and indemnity of their goods, and that nothing should be done without their privity and advice; all this was as rashly believed, as readily given out. Whereupon, the Dukes dissembled their feares, and dissolved their forces, in expectancy of what would ensue. The Parliament began at *London*, wherein Sir *John Bushy*, Sir *William Bagot*, and Sir *Henry Greene*, were principal Agents for the Kings purpose. These were the Kings chief Schoolmasters, both of cruelty and deceit: they were proud, ignorant, and ambitious, and presuming on the Kings favour, professed themselves enemies to the antient Nobility, to the end, that being but Mushrumes lately started up, they might become famous, by maintaining contention with greater persons. At first, by their importunate travel, especially of Sir *John Bushy*, who had procured himself to be made Speaker of that Parliament, all the Chartels of pardon formerly granted by the King, were in this Parliament annulled. The Prelates preceiving the intention of drawing divers of the Nobility, and others in question for their lives, did Constitute Sir *Henry Piercy* their Procurator, and depart the house, because they might not be present at judgement of blood. Then the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* were arraigned for those offences for which they were formerly pardoned, and thereupon were condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; but the King so moderated the severity of this sentence, that the Earl of *Arundel* was only beheaded, and the Earl of *Warwick* committed to perpetual imprisonment in the *Isle of man*; It was thought a point of policy and peace, not to bring the Duke of *Glocester* to publick tryal, but secretly to put him to death, and so he was strangled between two feather-beds, by the appointment of *Nottingham* Earl Marshall

*Glocester* murdered, not executed.

Marshall of *Callice*; which death howsoever it might be thought to him deserved, yet dying as he did not legally called or heard, he may be truly said to die guiltless. *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was likewise there accused for executing the Commission against *Michael de la pool*; for which causes his temporalities were seized, his lands and goods forfeited, and he himself adjudged to exile, and to depart the Realm within six weeks. The Lord *Cobham* was banished into the Isle of *Gernsey*, and Sir *Reginald Cobham* condemned to death, not for any attempt against the King, but because he was appointed by the Lords to be one of his Governours, in the eleventh year of his Reign: Now the King falsely supposing himself free from danger, and that the humour against him was clean purged away, conceived more secret content than he could openly bewray, as more able to dissemble his joy than conceal his fear, being so blinded and bewitched with continual custom of flatteries, that he perceived not, That the state of a Prince is never stablished with cruelty, nor confirmed by craft: The common people were much dismayd, having now lost their only helps, and hopes, as well for private affairs, as support of the publick state: The Plebeians were much incensed against the King: And to make their deaths seem the more foul, the Earl of *Arundel* hath the reputation of a Martyr, and Pilgrimages are made to the place of his interment; yea, it went for currant likewise, that his head was miraculously joyned to the body: This being generally affirmed, but without any ground; the Corps therefore are taken up ten dayes after the burial; and finding the same to be fabulous, the King caused the ground to be paved, where the body was laid, publicly forbidding all further speeches thereof afterward to be used: But this restraint raised fame the more, and they, that if it had been lawful, would have been silent, being now forbidden, could not forbear to talk.

An. 1396.  
R. 20.

The Earl of  
*Arundel* sup-  
posed a Mar-  
tyr.

The King Createth five Dukes: *Henry* Earl of *Darby*, was created Duke of *Hereford*; *Edward* first Earl of *Rusland*, was created Duke of *Ammerlo* and *Corke* in *Ireland*; *Thomas Holland* the Earl of *Kent*, was created Duke of *Southry*; Sir *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, was created Duke of *Exceter*; *John* Lord *Moubrey* Earl of *Nottingham*, was created Duke of *Norfolk*. This Title of Honour long time after the Conquest, amongst the Normans (whose chiefest Rulers had no greater Title) was accounted too high for a Subject to bear: the form of the R. P. being framed by the Conquerour, far from equality of all, and yet the King exempted from a like eminency of any. The King likewise created *Margaret*, daughter and heir of *Thomas Brockerson*, Countess of *Norfolk*, Dutches of *Norfolk*; *John Bewfort* Son of *John of Gaunt*, Earl of *Sommerset*, was created Marquess of *Sommerset*; *Thomas* Lord *Spencer*, was created Earl of *Glocester*; *Ralph* Lord *Nevill*, was created Earl of *Westmerland*; *William* Lord *Scroope*, Son of *Richard* Lord *Scroope*, Lord Chancellor, was created Earl of *Wilts*; Sir *Thomas Piercy* Vice-Chamberlain, was created Earl of *Worcester*; Amongst whom was made a distribution of a great part of the Lands of the Duke of *Glocester*, and of the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, supposing by this double bounty of Honour, and means to maintain it, to have tied them with a double obligation of duty and affection; but hired friends for the most part are seldom either satisfied, or sure, but like the Ravens in *Arabia*, that full gorged, have a tuneable sweet record; but empty, screech horribly.

An. 1397  
R. 21.  
Five Dukes  
created.

The Duke of *Hereford*, as it were to raise his desires to his dignities, ei-  
ther



An. 1397.

R. 21.

Herefords  
complaint of  
the Govern-  
ment to Nor-  
folk.

ther upon the disdain of the undeserved favours and advancement of some persons about the King, or disliking that his Sovereign should be so abused and abused by such, or else to make known his own sufficiency, in matters of controlement, and direction, one day having familiar conference with the Duke of *Norfolk*, complained that the King too much undervalued the Princes of the blood Royal, and much discouraged the rest of the Nobility from intermeddling in publick affaires. That instead of these, he was wholly guided by a few new-found, and new-fangled Favourites, of dunghill-breed, of base qualities, having no sufficiency, either for Counsel for peace, or Courage for War, who being of all men both the most unhonest, and most unable, which hatefulness of the one, and contempt of the other, were generally despised in all the Realm, whereby the Honour of the Kings person was much blemished; for ungrate and ungracious adherents to a King, are always the path to hatred and contempt. Secondly, the safety of his estate might be endangered; for extraordinary favours to men of apparent weak or bad desert, doth breed insolency in them, and discontentment in others, two dangerous humours in a Common-wealth. Thirdly, the dignity of the Realm was much impaired, whose valour and success being guided by the ill success of such unlucky Leaders, stood never in the like doubts of danger and distress, as now it did; so that matters of peace were tumultuous and uncertain, and achievements in War were never brought to honourable conclusions: And that it was high time that the King should look unto them, for the Nobility grew out of heart, the Commons out of hope, and all the people were fallen into a discontented murmuring. And this he affirmed, he said, not for any grudge to any particular person, but for grief for the publick grievance, and good will to his Sovereign, and therefore desired the Duke, who was one of the King's Cabinet Counsel, to discover unto him these deformities and dangers, that by repairing the one, he might happily repel the other. These words procured to the Duke of *Hereford*, both great offence, and great glory. At the delivery whereof the Duke of *Norfolk* made shew of good liking, well approving them, and made promise of sincere dealing therein. And had they afterward by him been as faithfully related, and by the King as friendly taken, as they were freely and friendly intended, many mischiefs had been avoided; but both failed. For though the Duke of *Norfolk* had formerly sided with the Lords: yet afterwards, affecting rather to be lifted amongst great, than good men, he made sale of his Honour, with his honesty, to nurse his pleasure, and hold grace with the King; wherein he was so seated, that the murdering of the Duke of *Glocester*, and the execution of the Earl of *Arundel*, was committed principally to his care and charge; and now the more to wind himself into the Princes favour, he exaggerated the late relation, and intermixed with some truth, many lies, making the truth seem worse than it was; whereby the King not enduring the searching of his sores by any private observer, endeavoured rather to punish the boldness, than examine the truth of these reports, his ears being so dull'd with continuation of Flatteries, that he accounted all too sharp, that was but savoury, approving only that which was presently pleasant, though afterwards it proved most poisonous. This observation from hence may arise, that no strange accident doth at any time happen, but it is some way, either foreshewn, or foretold. But because these warnings are oftentimes either not marked, or misconstrued, or contemned, the events are accounted inevitable, and the premonition vain. The King being touched with one Duke

An. 1397.  
R. 21.

Duke, and tickled by another, was not at first resolved what to do. At length he convokes the Dukes before his Council, demands of *Norfolk* if he would publickly avouch what he had secretly suggested: *Norfolk* thinking it at that time no point of wisdom, to shrink from, or shuffle in his tale, repeated with a confident brow, all what so ever he had formerly related. But the Duke of *Hereford* who could not be dash't out of countenance, when he was in a good cause, after a short pause, as seeming rather amazed at the strangeness of the matter, than abashed at the guilt, humbly thanked the King that he had not given over-hasty credit to matters of such tender touch, desiring him to continue yet a while, the respite of his displeasure, and to reserve his judgment from prejudicating. Then he orderly repeats the truth of the passages in the primer conference, the occasion and the end thereof; and what was related more than what he now repeated, he resolutely denies, affirming it falsly surmised by his adversary, either upon malice to pick a quarrel, or sycophancy to pick a thank, for which he pronounced him a false unworthy forger of scandalous and seditious lies, thereby treacherously machinating to seduce the King, to destroy his Nobility, and to raise some disturbance in the Kingdom; which (by his Sovereigns permission) he offered to justifie against him, by Order of the Field; *Norfolk*'s stomach not inured to undergo scorns, could not digest these terms of disgrace, but stiffly stood in defence of his relation; and for the maintaining thereof, accepted and craved the combate. The King made shew as though he would have other ways quieted the contention; but when the Dukes persevered resolutely, to demand the trial by Duell, and that thereupon they had flung down their gages: The King gives way thereunto, assigns the place at *Coventry*, the time, the month, of *August* following, against which time preparation was made accordingly. At the day prefixed the parties appeared, well associated with Friends and Allies: The Duke of *Anmerle* was appointed for that time high Constable; the Duke of *Surry* high Marshal, who came to the Lists honorably attended in sutable liveries, each of their servants carrying Tip-staves, for clearing the field and ordering thereof. About the time of prime, the Duke of *Hereford* mounted upon a white Courser, his Caparison of blew and green Velvet, embroidered thick with Swans and Antelops, armed at all points with his sword drawn, approacheth the Lists: To whom the Constable and Marshal addressed themselves; making demand who he was: He answered, I am *Henry* Duke of *Hereford*, and am come to do my devoire against *Thomas Monbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, as a Traytor to God, the King, the Realm, and Me. And then taking his Oath upon the Evangelists that his quarrel was right and just, he desired liberty to enter; which granted, he put up his Sword, pulled down his Bever, signed himself on the fore-head with the Cross, taketh his Spear, and passing the Barriers, dismounted and sat down in a chair of green Velvet, placed in a Travers of green and blew Velvet, at one end of the Lists. King *Richard* enters the field with great pomp, accompanied with the Earl of *Saint Paul*, who came purposely out of *France* to see the Combate. The King was attended with all his Nobles and a guard of ten thousand men in Arms, to prevent all sudden and sinister tumults. His Majesty being seated, a king at Arms makes proclamation in King *Richards* name; that no man, except such as were appointed to marshal the field, should touch any part of the Lists, upon pain of death; which ended, another Herald cryeth: Behold here *Henry* of *Lancaster*, Duke of *Hereford* Appellant, who is entred into the



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the Lists Royal, to do his *dévoire*, against *Thomas Monbray Duke of Norfolk*, upon pain to be accounted false and recreant.

When the Duke of *Norfolk* mounted the Caparisons of his Horse of crimson Velvet, embroidered with Lions of silver, and Mulberry-trees proper: taking his oath before the Constable and the Marshal, that this quarrel was just and true, entered the field, crying aloud, *God aid the right*; and then lighted from his Horse, placing himself in a chair of crimson Velvet, opposite at the other end of the Lists. The Marshal viewed their Spears, and carried the one himself to the Duke of *Hereford*, and sent the other by *Sir Alberick Trussell* to the Duke of *Norfolk*. This done, Proclamation was made to address themselves to the encounter. The Dukes speedily mounted, and closed their Bevers, casting their Spears into their rests: when the Trumpets sounded, and the Duke of *Hereford* put his Horse forward. But before *Norfolk* stirred, the King cast down his Warder, and the Combatants had their Spears taken from them, and returned to their Chairs, where they remained by the space of two hours, whilst the King was in Council: At last *Sir John Bonray* (after silence proclaimed) read their doom, which was, that in as much as the Dukes Appellant and Defendant had honorably appeared in the Royal Lists, and were not only ready, but forward to detain the Combat: For that this was a business of great Consequence, for the avoiding the effusion of Christian blood, the King by the advice of his Council, had decreed that *Henry Duke of Hereford* should within fifteen days, depart the Realm, and within the space of ten years not to return, upon pain of death, without the Kings special leave first obtained: Then upon a second Proclamation, the Secretary pronounced the decree of Banishment against the Duke of *Norfolk*, for that he had used seditious words, whereof he could produce no proofs, and that the King should take the renewals of his land, until he was satisfied of such sums of money, as he had received out of the Kings Coffers, for the payment of the Garrison of *Callice*: And he further said, That the King commanded upon pain of his high displeasure, that no man from thenceforth should presume to petition the King in behalf of either of those Dukes, to alter this Decree. The sentence thus read, the King called the exiles before him, and took of them a solemn oath, that they should never converse together, nor willingly come into each others company, lest common discontent should draw first reconciliation, and after desire of revenge. But this policy is ever weak to prevent such purposes; for oaths are often spurned aside, when they lye like rubs, to stop the way to honour, or revenge: Therefore the Princes of this Realm, have with more safety for the most part, abolished the use of abjuration, and either by death extinguish the power, or by pardon alter the will of great offenders from entering into desperate and dangerous attempts, which men in misery and disgrace, with more vehemency begin, and with more obstinacy continue. When the *Samnites* had so enclosed the *Roman* Legions, that they had neither space to fight, nor means to flye, and without fight had enforced them to yield: they sent for advice to one *Pontius*, an ancient Ruler of their State, what to do with them: His answer was, That the *Romans* should be permitted to depart without loss, or derision. But this not pleasing those that were either cruel or covetous, *Pontius* was the second time consulted with: whose answer then was, That the *Romans* should be generally slaughtered, and not one spared: This contrariety of advice, brought *Pontius* into suspicion of dotage; which he suspecting, came in person, and maintained both

both to be advantageous: The first by an unexpected favour, might provoke the *Romans* to a perpetual friendship; the second would defer the Wars for many years: The third, Counsel (quoth he) there cannot be given, that may be safely followed: Yes, say the *Sannites*, to grant them their lives, but to take away their Arms and Booty. This is a way, replies old *Pontius*, which can neither win Friends, nor weaken Enemies, but may increase fury, but not diminish force: So that that course of punishment is out of course, which doth neither reclaim the mind of man, nor restrain the might from mischievous endeavours.

The Duke of *Norfolk* with great grief and perturbation of mind, now proving it to be true, that Greatness abused by whispering untruths, draweth, if discovered, certainty of destruction, departed into *Almaine*: and from thence travelled to *Venice*, where shortly after he ended his days. It is observed that this Duke was banished the same day of the year, wherein the Duke of *York* by his contriving, was strangled at *Calice*.

The Duke of *Hereford* took his leave of the King at *Eltham*, where four years of his exilement were strook off. The Dukes deportment was with that moderation, that in his Countenance he made shew neither of sorrow or stupidity, and at his departure let not fall any, either intemperate, or unseemly syllable. The Commons much lamented his departure, not sparing to exclaim, that it was against the Law of Arms, the custom of the Realm, and all Justice, that he should be exil'd, who had honourably endeavoured to maintain his appeal, according to the Law of the Field. Their affection was the more excessive, by reason the ground of his Speech was against those that the People hated, and he was the only Survivor of the Popular Faction. The Duke of *Hereford* saileth to *Calice*, and from thence to *Paris*, where he was honourably received by the King of *France*: and in short time found that favour with him, that he was offered for Wife the only Daughter of *John*, Duke of *Berry*, Uncle to the *French* King. But the King of *England*, upon notice thereof, made such means that the Marriage was stopt.

Many things hapned this year, which were interpreted to preface the revolt of the people, which hapned the year following: Observation likewise was taken, that when King *Richard* brought his first Wife with him out of *Beanne*, she was no sooner on shore, but such a Tempest arose, as the like thereof had not been seen in many years before, wherein many Ships, and amongst them the Ship the Queen came in, was cast away. The like storm, and the like loss did betide, when the King brought his second Wife out of *France*. Many prodigies are likewise storied to appear about these times, both strange and fearful: I dare not avouch them all to be true, neither will I detract all truth from such things so anciently reported: Many are persuaded that these things which are fatally allotted, though they are unavoidable, yet are they sometimes foreshown; not so much that we may prevent them, as that we should prepare our selves against them.

About this time died *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, who was buried on the North side of the high Altar of the Cathedral Church of *S. Paul* in *London*: He was a man advised, and wary, liking better safe courses with reason, than happy by hazard; neither unrespective nor ambitiously careful of his own Glory: He carried himself towards the King in terms honourable enough for a moderate Prince, and yet not so plausible as an uncollected man might desire, whereby nothing hapned unto him extraordinary, either in prejudice or preferment: This *John of Gaunt* (so named of the place where he

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he was born) fourth Son of *Edward* the Third, did write in his stile, *John* Son to the King of *England*, Duke of *Aquitain*, and *Lancaster*, Earl of *Richmond*, *Darby*, *Lincoln*, *Leicester*, and high Constable of *England*: he married three Wives; *Blanch* Daughter and co-heir of *Henry* first Duke of *Lancaster*, by whom he had issue:

*Henry*, afterwards King of *England*.

*Philip*, married to *John* King of *Portugal*.

*Elizabeth*, married to *John* Holland Duke of *Exeter*.

2.

His second Wife was *Constance*, Daughter and one of the Co-heirs of *Peter* King of *Castile*, by whom he had issue *Katherine*, married to *Henry* Son of *John* King of *Spain*.

3.

His third Wife was *Katherine*, Daughter of *Payne* Rurt King of *Arms*, and Widow of Sir *Otes* Swinford Knight, by whom he had issue:

*John* Bewford, Earl of *Somerſet*, and Marquess *Somerſet*.

*Henry* Bewford, Bishop of *Wincheſter*.

*Thomas* Bewford, Earl of *Dorſet*, and Duke of *Exeter*.

*Joane*, married first to *Ralph* Nevill Earl of *Cheſter*, and afterwards to *Robert* Ferrers, Lord of *Ousley*; all theſe Children, though born before eſpouſal, by a Bull from *Rome* were made legitimate. After his death, the Dutchy of *Lancaster* did lineally deſcend to his eldeſt Son, the Duke of *Hereford*. But (as the nature of man is prone to hate thoſe whom he hath injured) the King ſeized all the Lands, and Goods of the deceased Duke, and endeavoured to perpetuate the baniſhment of the young Duke: revoked the Letters Patents granted and conſented unto, whereby his Attornies had been enabled to ſue out his *Ouſter le maine*, and Livery of thoſe Lands, which during his exile, might fall unto him, his homage being formerly concluded upon, to be reſpited at a reaſonable fine. But theſe violent proceedings were rather a means to provoke, than prevent miſchief.

*Edmond* Duke of *York*, the King's only Uncle that ſurvived, who hitherto had enforced his patience to endure many things againſt his liking; now either in diſdain of this indignity, or diſtrult of his own ſafety, and the Realms diſturbance; he with the Duke of *Anmerle* his Son retired themſelves to his houſe at *Langley*. At this time the whole frame of the State was much ſhaken, and matters of greateſt conſequence hung but on ſlender threads: The King was plunged in pleaſure and ſloth, by whoſe example others alſo gave themſelves over to eaſe and luxury; whereby cowardice and effeminacy crept in: and ſhipwrack was made both of manhood and reputation. The chiefeſt affairs of State, had been for a long time ordered according to private reſpects; whereby the Common-wealth loſt both the fat and the favour, and ſeemed not at ſeaſons, and by degrees, but with a main courſe and at once, to be ruinate and fall. The North parts were many times canvassed, and by ſmall, yet often loſſes, almoſt conſumed by the *Scots*, who had taken many Caſtles and Towns, and defaced all the Country, with ſlaughter and ſpoil. The South parts were divers times pillaged by the *French*, and in *France* many ſtrong holds were loſt for want of convenient ſuccour; it was much about theſe times, that there was a ſecret pact renewed between the two Kings, for the delivery of *Callice*, and other places thereabout to the *French*. But the performance thereof was reſiſted, both by the Court and Council. *Ireland*, which in the time of *Edward* the third, was kept in order and awe, and the people were taught Religion and Civility, and well reclaimed, yielding to the Kings Coſſers thirty thouſand pounds per

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*annum*, was suffered now to be loose and licentious, and thereby the people grown rude and untractable, so that now the King instead of receiving, was enforced to be at the charge to expend thirty thousand pounds yearly. Many succours were every day sent abroad, but so scatteringly, and at such unreasonable times, and often so ill accommodated, that they were occasions rather of loss than help, whereupon the King endeavoured some expedition in person, with great preparation, and much charge; but his reputation being once cryed down, whatsoever therein succeeded well, was attributed to his Commanders, but all misfortunes only to him; on the other side, if any exploit were well atchieved by any of the Nobility, it received misconstruction by the Court Parasites, and by them (to whom Military vertue was altogether unpleasant) so extenuated, depraved, or envied, that it seldom times received recompence or praise, yea sometime it drew on suspicion and danger, it being whispered to the King, that to command well in the field, and to be skilful and valiant, was a vertue meely to be appropriated to a Prince, and that it was perilous to have the name of a private subject famous for such experience in every mans mouth: whereby few sought to raise their fortunes by vertue and valour, when the way was easier for to rise by humouring the Prince. Affaires of State in peace, were managed by those of weakest apprehension, by whose corrupt or ignorant counsel, the overthrow of the well-minded Nobility, was many times attempted, and at the last wrought. The Profits and Revenues of the Crown were let to farm, the King making himself Landlord of the Realm, challenging no greater privilege by his Reign, but a dissolute and uncontrouled life. Great summes of money were by new-found and unwonted means every day rather exacted, than voluntarily granted from the Subject: whereof no good did ensue, but the Kings private pleasures maintained, and his unworthy Favourites advanced: To these he was beyond expectation too liberal to continue, for which he was enforced to borrow, beg, and extort in many places, but purchased not so much love by the one, as he procured thereby hatred from the other, over and above Tenths and Fifteens, which were many times gathered double in one year, strange Impositions were devised and put in practise, sometimes exacting twelve pence *per poll* of every Subject throughout the Realm, sometimes of every religious person, male and female, vi. s. viii. d. of every secular Priest as much. Under the favourable term of benevolence, he drew from the people great summes of money, he borrowed so much upon Privy Seals, that no man of ability could escape his loan, but seldom and to few was repayment made. He sent certain Commissioners, Bishops and Lords temporal, to all Shires and Corporations within the Kingdom, to make known the Kings heavy displeasure against them, for having abetted the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earles of Arundel and Warwick, which without due acknowledgement of the offence, and submission to his mercy, could not be pacified: Whereupon the chief in every Shire, and all Corporations, made their acknowledgement and submission, under their hands and seals: for the redemption whereof, and for procuring of the Kings favour, insupportable fines were payd, and all so impoverished, that few or none were able to subsist, none to resist. Strange and unheard of Oaths were obtruded upon the Commons for performance of what was under their hands and seals promised by them; nay, to add affliction, to affliction blanke Charters were sealed, and delivered to the Kings use, wherein whatsoever he pleased might be inserted. These courses were quite contrary to the Go-



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vernment of *Henry* the second, who though born a stranger, and coming young to the Crown, and in a scarce settled time, maintained great Wars, won large Dominions, more than ever were hereditary to any his Predecessors, had many Children, and always maintained a Kingly port, yet never demanded Subsidy of his Subjects: nevertheless he left nine hundred thousand pounds, besides jewels and Plate of inestimable value in his Treasury, having in all his life-time held a good correspondency betwixt his care and respect towards his Subjects, and of their obedience and loyalty to him. But this King bearing a heavy hand over his people, they bear an hard heart towards him; and he being shallow in judgement, not of sufficiency enough to cover his vices, but with, or by a cloke of seeming powerful, at length drave then many to revolt, whose resolution was rather to run the hazard of ruin by rebellion, than to continue safety with slavery, and did but await occasion to begin, which was thus offered: The King received advertisement out of *Ireland*, that the wild Irish had massacred all his garison souldiers, and barbarously slain *Roger Mortymer* Earl of *Marsh* (who had been declared heir to the Crown) and that they proceeded with that cruelty, that wrath and rage, being master of the field could incite, or cowardly conquerours practise. This loss being great, was much increased by the report of the ill-affected multitude. The King calleth his Council, where it is much debated, whether were more convenient, for the King in person to go, or to send his General; it was disputed, that wholly to subdue *Ireland*, stood neither with possibility nor policy; for if it were quiet in possession, the Governour might grow to that greatness, that he might make himself absolute Monarch thereof, and therefore it was better to hold it certain by feeble enemies, than uncertain by over-potent friends. But how should those bogs and woods, which are more impregnable than the best fortified Towns in other Countries, be compassed or conquered? And if the purpose were only to repress those Savage people, the War was not so weighty, as should draw the King in person into the field: And therefore it was more convenient for him to stay in some place, from whence he might shew his readines, than to be present indeed. But others were of opinion (and that not without good ground) that to subdue, and people *Ireland*, was a matter neither difficult or dangerous, but acceptable and honourable to God and the King: For his Realm of *England* is truly storied, to have been as unpassable for bogs and woods, as *Ireland*. But the Conquerours kept not their souldiers idle in garison, whereby the bodies might be made diseased, and so unfit for labour, or hard travel: But they held as well them, as the Natives, continually in action, either in exercising their arms, or in raising fortifications, or making mighty high ways, or else in drayning and piling of bogs; by which means the Countrey was made habitable, and the ways passable; and the people found it better to prefer subjection with plenty, before liberty with penury. That the *Romans* kept many more large Territories in quiet Obedience (so long as there was amity amongst themselves) without either fear or danger of popular Governours, either by severing them into divers small Provinces, or assigning to every province divers Officers of inferiour ranks, as Lieutenants and Provosts, whereof one was able to restrain the other, or by making their offices but annual: But chiefly by retaining their wives and children, as pledges of their dutiful obedience. That the danger was the more to be feared, lest a weak enemy, whilst he is contemned, should gather strength, and be able to stand up

on terms of withstanding: That it was a pittiful policy for assurance of peace, to make all waste like a Wildernes, and instead of Men to have domination of nothing but Trees and Beasts. That by so doing, the King should lose the renew of a fruitful Country, and the benefit of wealthy Subjects, which are the surest Treasure of a Prince: That hereby also the Majesty of his estate would be impaired: For (as *Solomon* saith) the honour of a Kingdom consisteth in the multitude of Subjects. That the Country being unfurnished of People, was open to all Nations invasion, and a great means to invite forraign and unsent-for guests. Lastly, if none of these respects would move, the King was bound in Conscience to reduce those wilde People to the true Knowledge and Worship of God, who did then either prophanely contemn him, or superstitiously serve him.

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These reasons so prevailed with the King, that he gathered a mighty Army, with intention to go in person into *Ireland*; but all his provision was at the Subjects charge. And where in times of danger, a discreet Ruler when necessity shall enforce his absence, will give least cause of distaste unto his people: This King in Peace having been no provider for War, was forced to offend, when he should have been most careful to win their favour. About the Feast of *Pentecost* he set forward on his Voyage with many Men, but few Souldiers; he carried with him all his Treasure, Jewels, Plate and Kingly Robes; there went with him also the Duke of *Anmerle* and the Duke of *Exeter*, with divers of the Nobles, and many Mitred Prelates, amongst whom was the Abbot of *Westminster*, a chief favourite. He also took with him the Sons of the Duke of *Glocester* and *Hereford*, whose favourers he chiefly suspected. When he came to *Bristol* (whether upon some matter, or meer malice, at first, it is uncertain;) it was put into the Kings head, That *Henry Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, with some other, intended some disloyal attempt against him: And therefore did not tender their service unto him in this expedition. Hereupon he by his Purfevant commanded the Earl with all his Power, that could conveniently be raised, to come unto him in Person to *Bristol*; The Earl by Letter returneth answer, desiring thereby his Majesty to take it into his more serious cogitation, that it was inconvenient for the *Irish* Service, to draw Men from such remote places, in regard the Rebels were neither so many, nor so mighty, but that the King had strength sufficient at hand to suppress them: That it was dangerous to disfurnish the North parts of their strength, thereby to offer opportunity to the *Scottish* borderers (who were uncertain Friends in extremity, and assured to be Enemies upon any such advantage) to make an inrode; therefore craved to be excused at that time for not attending.

The King conceiving his command in this to be contraried, yea contemned, would not stand to reason the matter, though he had small reason (things being as they were) not to have done so: but in an unadvised heat, Proclaims the Earl and all his Confederates Traitors, and commands all their Lands and Goods to be seized to his use; the Earl much stomaching this disgrace, makes good the Information, and breaks out into open hostility, whilst the King proceeds in his Voyage for *Ireland*, where upon his first arrival, all things succeeded prosperously, the King obtaining many victories, yet without battel. For the *Irish* not being under one Government, were divided into many factions, so that seldom three Sects joyned their strength, and study to one point; so that whilst they fought one by one, they were all easily subdued or slain.

In the mean time, some of the Nobility of *England*, with most of the



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common people groaning under the burthen of their oppression, taking advantage of the Kings absence, conspired to cut off that authority, that would not be confined, and to bestow it upon some other, who was likely to repair what *Richard* had ruined, resolving if they fell short of their wish, they would sell that with glory in the Field, which with certainty in Peace they could not enjoy. The only man upon whom they all pitcht, was *Henry* Duke of *Hereford*; not upon any motion or desire of his; but because he was of the Blood Royal, and next heir male by discent, to the succession of the Crown, of whose valour and vertue, honorable proof had been made: The only surviving man of quality, that had stood up against the King for the behoof of the Common-wealth, for which he had suffered much, both in Honour and State. The attempt pleased, as possible to prove, and of necessity to be followed. Letters are secretly dispatched to the Duke, whose speedy return into *England* they importune: affirming that as well for the publick good of the Realm, as for their own particular safeties, they were forced to use force against their King: soliciting him to be pleased but to make the head, and they would furnish the body with an able Army, to expel the misgoverned King from his unbecomming Government, and to settle the Crown upon his Head, who was more apt and able to manage the same: That they would not only help him, in bare wishes, and advice, but would joyn Hearts and Hands to adventure their lives, so that the peril should be common to all, the glory only his.

These Letters were cunningly compil'd, and closely conveyed, by such as had more than common interest in the Dukes respect. Amongst whom was principal, *Thomas Arundel*, late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the son of *Robert* Earl of *Arundel*, and *Warren*, who had been first Bishop of *Ely*, and then Archbishop of *Tork*, and lastly of *Canterbury*, who being amongst others the Bishops in the higher House of Parliament, at what time the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Earl of *Arundel*, the Brother to the Archbishop, were convented, at least questioned, because Clergy-men, by the the Canons are commanded not to be present at any Trial, or Judgment of Life and Death, he with they rest, as they before had used, departed the House: upon this occasion being absent, he with his Brother were condemned of High Treason, and after his Brothers Execution, the Archbishop was banished the Realm, his goods forfeited and seized, and his place conferred upon *Roger Walden*. The Archbishop with his Confederates by several ways, and in strange disguises came to *Paris*, and in the House of one *Clomigey* (where the Duke sojourned) met together, where having obtained privacy and silence, the Archbishop used these words, or the like in sense.

We are sent unto you (right High and most Noble Prince) from the chief Lords and Peers, and people of our Kingdom, who groan under the burthen of tyrannous oppression; yet not to vindicate injuries against our Sovereign, upon private wrongs or displeasures, nor upon desperate discontent, to set the State in combustion, to put the King in fear, the Kingdom into a flame, nor to second the ambitious designs of any particular person: But to open unto you the deformities and decays of our dislected Estate, and to implore your aid, for the stay of the precipitate ruine of the same. The remembrance of our honorable achievements, and your deserved reputation, thereby gained as well in others as in our Country, doth nothing else but make the remembrance of our present baseness bitter unto us. Our victorious Armies have heretofore been

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Arundels  
speech to Hen-  
ry.

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been famous and renowned, not only in the Islands adjoyning, but in all parts of *Europe*, yea in *Asia* and *Africa* against the Infidels and Barbarians, so that all Christian Princes have been willing to imbrace our friendship, or unwilling to provoke us to hostility. But now both Welch and Scots, whom we have so often beaten, and brought upon their knees, do not only scorn and deride us, but the weak and miserable Irish have shaken off their shackles, and glutted and enriched themselves with our blood and spoils; with these we are now enforced to fight, not for glory, but for leave but to live, in so much as that we are pittied by our friends, flouted by our enemies, and hated of our selves. It is confest that King *Richard* hath led and sent great powers into these Countries, but after such a manner that they have much wasted the Kingdom with their maintenance, but have by Arms neither relieved friends, or revenged us on our enemies. And no marvel, since all our discreet and diligent Commanders (the sinews and nerves of an Army) are either beheaded, banished, or buried in disgrace and obscurity, and the managing of Martial affairs is committed (without respect of abilities or desert) to the conduct and counsel of such as can best comply with the Kings variable disposition. Amongst whom antient Nobility is esteemed but as a vain bubble: vertue, and sufficiency, are but a trap to ensnare their possessors. It is a grief to me to speak it, but it helpeth not to hide that which every one seeth. Our Ancestors lived in the highest pitch of perfect liberty; and we of dejected servility, being used not like Subjects but abjects, yea, flat slaves, not to one only unrespective Prince, but to many his proud and presumptuous favourites, not always the same, but every day fresh ones: And no sooner have we contented one, but new greedy stomachs are provided, whose extortion and exactions have devoured more by Bribes than the Enemy with the Sword. What unwonted, nay what unheard of projects are now invented, and daily practised, without either measure or end, yea oftentimes without need? But if any be, it proceedeth rather from riotous expence, than necessary charges: great sums of money are every minute pilled, and pulled from the honest-minded Subject, to be unprofitably wasted upon prodigal spend-thrifts; and if any man impugn these most insupportable taxations, or but speak in the defence of the Liberty of a Subject: Then either by surmised imputation of capital crime, or by aggravation of small causes by far-fetched circumstances, and strained constructions, or else by open cruelty and force, his life or liberty, or both, is called in question; it were too tedious, too odious, too frivolous, to produce particular examples. The lamentable loss of your noble Uncles, and other honorable Friends, and your own present estate, cannot easily be forgotten; nay, I presume, there is no man of rank or fashion within the Realm, who either in his own Person, or Children, or in his dear Friends, or near Allies, but may easily find that no man hath certainty to enjoy the safeguard of his goods, or the use of his Liberty, or surety of his head: but rich men of the one, and good men of the other, are continually in hazard. This is our case, but what is the remedy? We have patiently suffered, and sued humbly for ease; but our patience hath procured increase of punishment, and our complaints more stripes: By the one our Livings, by the other our Lives are daily devoured. Now therefore are we unwillingly compelled, to endeavour to shake from our shoulders this too too uneasie yoke, and submit our Lives and Estates to the command of some more moderate and worthy person, not so much for the grief of our miseries which are past, nor for the pain of our present distresses, as for



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fear of worfe dangers, which are moſt likely to follow the chief of the ancient Nobility. The King hath cut off the chief of the Nobility, and the Commons he hath pared to the quick; and ſtill he harroweth the Country, as if now but newly conquered; whereby our nakedneſs is bared to our Adverſaries, and we are made utterly unable, either to recover that which is loſt, or retain that little that is left. To whom ſhall we now complain? From whence ſhall we ſeek ſuccour? From whence expect aid? You (Royal Sir) are only he, which in right ſhould, in wiſdom can, and in goodneſs (we preſume) will relieve us: to the King in blood you are the neareſt, to us in love deareſt, you ought therefore to undertake the rule of that that his weakneſs cannot well weild. Your years are well ſtaid, from the looſe ſagaries of youth, and have been ſo ſpent, that your former actions have made ſufficient proof of your full abilities for Government of greateſt charge; nothing therein by you paſt needeth excuſe, and it is vain to fear what is to come: Your pains and peril formerly undergone for the good of your Country, putteth us all in good hope, that in this extremity you will not forſake us: we are in a leaky Ship ready to ſink, in an old Houſe ready to fall, and therefore humbly call and crave for your help to ſuccor and ſave us: now or never ſhow your ſelf to favour your Country-men, and free us, free your ſelf, and the whole State from dangers and decays, by taking into your hands the Scepter and ſway thereof, and to reduce the now tyrannous Government to a Princely freedom, in combining the Sovereignty in one with the liberty of all. Omit not this occaſion, but make your vertue and valour appear, by relieving moſt miſerable wretches, from their unmerciful oppreſſors. This we are conſtrained to offer and intreat; this is both honorable for you to accept, and eaſie to perform, being a task worthy your toil: And ſo much the rather, ſince no Prince by any people, hath been deſired with greater affection, nor ſhall more dutifully be obeyed than your Royal Self.

Earl Henries  
anſwer.

This ſpeech the Duke heard with attention, and entertained with great moderation and modeſty; his anſwer to that part that touched the King, was reſpective and well tempered, rather lamenting his weakneſs, than blaming his malice; as touching himſelf, he ſpake ſo ſoberly, that he ſeemed rather worthy of a Kingdom than deſirous thereof; he affirmed his life had been always free from malicious, and ambitious attempts, that ſtayedneſs of years had now ſettled his mind from aſpiring thoughts: That experience of former dangers, had bred in him a wary regard, in ſuch a weighty buſineſs, that to caſt a King out of his State, was an enterpriſe, not haſtily to be attempted, nor eaſily effected. And though the matter were neither impoſſible, nor difficult, yet the rareneſs of the fact, as wanting preſident, would make the action ſeem injurious to all indifferent mind: And he that ſhall attain a Kingdom, upon opinion of deſert, doth charge himſelf with greater expectation; and how honorably ſoever he ſhall comport himſelf, he ſhall never want his deadly enviers; Beſides this, in civil diſſentions, the faith of the multitude is fitting, and danger is to be doubted from every particular perſon: That it is poſſible that all may fall away, but impoſſible to be ſafe from every one, how ever friendly in ſemblance. Therefore he rather wiſht to ſpend the remainder of his years, as he did, obſcurely, in a ſafe and certain eſtate, than to thruſt himſelf upon thoſe pikes of perils, which being once entred into, are dangerous to follow, and deadly to forſake: whereas in private attempts a man may ſtep, and ſtop when, and how, and as often as he pleaſeth:

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pleaseth: But the aim at a Kingdom, hath no middle course betwixt the life of a Prince, or the death of a Traytor. The Archbishop replied, saying, The state wherein you now stand, is neither so safe or certain as you conceive: Indeed by rejecting our request, you may avoid certain dignity, and with that uncertain and contingent dangers: But shall procure most certain destruction, both to your self and us; for this attempt cannot be kept secret long from the King: And the best Princes are tender in points of Sovereignty, and bear a nimble ear to the touch of that string; and it prejudiceth more a Subject, to be thought worthy of a Kingdom, than it will profit him to have refused the offer of it. What then will he do, that putteth the chiefest security of his Reign in the baseness, and bareness of his Subjects: who being perpetually possessed with jealousy, maketh every presumption a proof, and every light surmise a strong suspicion against them? And of certainty, if the general favour and the love which the people beareth you, hath as now bereaved you of your liberty: This their general desire, will not leave your life untouched. As for us, if we faint in our intent, or fail in the enterprise, farewell all; we shall but be like Lambs amongst Lyons: And no loss by Conquest can be more grievous unto us, than the Kings reign over us: assuredly, now we have gone on too far to go back. And the time is long since past, when you for *ambition*, and we for *envy*, might seem to attempt against the King. The possession of the Crown, must now be the sole sanctuary, and refuge for us both. Examples of the like attempts, are neither rare, nor worn out of practise, nor so far off to be fetched: We might instance in *Germany*, the Emperor *Adolphus*, in *Denmark* and *Swedland*, in the *Neiberlands*, in this Kingdom, both before and since the Conquest, instance were to be given of the like; there is always difficulty in things that tend to much excellency: But they that are afraid of every shadow, will hardly at first truly apprehend the substance.

And as he was about to proceed to justify the lawfulness, the Duke interrupted him, and said, Where necessity doth enforce, it is needless to use speech, either of easiness or lawfulness: Necessity will run through brazen walls, and cannot be bounded by Laws: I have had my full share in these calamities, and I wish you knew, with what grief I have beheld you. What recompence have I received, for all my labour and expence in the Kings service, but the death of my dear Uncles, and nearest Friends, my own Banishment, the base Imprisonment of my Children, and the loss of my Goods and Inheritance? And what hath been returned unto you for your Blood, so often spent in these unfortunate Wars, but perpetual payments of unnecessary Exactions, daily Massacres, and insupportable Slavery: I have tired my patience in apprehension of my own miseries and pitying yours: remedy them hitherto I could not (had I been never so willing:) if now I can, I will not refuse, to sustain that part, which your importunity doth enforce upon me. If we prevail, we shall regain our Liberties: If we miss, our Estate can be no worse than it is: And if we must perish, either guilty or guiltless, it is more Noble to hazard our Selves, either to win our Lives, or Dye in defence of our Liberties. And though our lives were safe, which in truth they are not, yet to desert the State, and sleep still in this slavery, would argue either negligence, or stupidity in us, or both. It remaineth now that we use secrecy, and celerity, taking hold of that opportunity the Kings absence presents unto us: For in enterprizes, which never are commended before atchieved, delays are dangerous: And safer it is, to be found



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The Duke of  
Hereford set-  
teth forward.

found in open action, than private Counsel: For they that deliberate only to rebel, have rebelled already. Hereupon the Confederates return for *England*, to provide Arms, and prepare necessities against the Dukes arrival: who presently acquaints the King of *France*, that he intended to go to visit his kinsman, *John Duke of Brittain*; and obtained from him Letters of safe Conduct. There he waged some Souldiers, with whom from *Callice* he made for *England*, giving forth at his coming abroad, that he only endeavoured to regain the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, and the rest of his lawful inheritance, which King *Richard* wrongfully detained from him. With him came *Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Thomas* heir to *Richard* late Earl of *Arundel*; the residue of his retinue exceeded not twenty Lances, so that it is hard to judge, whether was the greater marvel, either that he durst attempt, or that he did prevail with so small a company. But his confidence was in the favour, and assistance of the people in the Realm: He for a time did bear up for *England*; but not in a straight course, but hulling about the shore, making show to land sometimes on one Coast, sometimes on another, thereby to discover what Forces were in readines, either to receive, or resist him.

The Duke of  
Hereford land-  
ed in *Holderness*.

In the mean time *Edmond Duke of York* the Kings Uncle, and Vicegerent, having intelligence of the Duke of *Hereford*s design, Convoked *Stafford* Bishop of *Chichester*, Lord Chancellor, *William Scroope* Earl of *Wiltshire*, the Lord Treasurer, Sir *John Bushy*, Sir *Henry Greene*, Sir *William Bagot*, Sir *John Russell*, and others of the Kings Privy Council, and entred into Counsel, what was best to be done: Where it was concluded deceitfully by some, unskilfully by others, and by all perniciously for King *Richard* to quit the Sea coasts, to leave *London*, and to make the randevow at *Saint Albones*, to gather Forces to oppose the Duke, who was lately landed about the Feast of *Saint Martine*, without any resistance or rub, at *Ravenspur* in *Holderness*, whose side was by nothing more advantaged, than by that dissembling and deceitful deliberation of the Kings Counsel. Upon his arrival, *Henry Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Henry* surnamed *Hotspur* his son, the Earl of *Westmerland*, the Lords, *Nevill*, *Rosse* and *Willoughby*, and many other Personages of Honour came unto him, whose accession both increased reputation to their cause, and was a great countenance and strength to the Dukes further purposes. But first they took an oath of him, that he should neither procure, nor permit any bodily harm to be done to King *Richard*, and thereupon they pawned to the Duke of *Hereford* their Honours, to joyn with him in all extremity, to prosecute the Kings mischievous Counsellors. The Common people desperate upon new desires, head and headlong flocked to these Noblemen. The better sort for love to the Commonwealth, some upon levity, and itching desire of change, others to repair their distressed and decayed Estates, who all setting up their rests upon a general disturbance, were (in conceit) then most safe, when the common state was most unsure: So between the one and the other, the number in short time increased to thirty thousand able Souldiers. The Duke finding success to favour him, not only beyond expectation, but even above his wish, he followed the channel whilst the current went strong; and cutting off unnecessary delays, with all celerity he hasted to *London*, that possessing himself thereof, being the chief place within the Kingdom for strength and store, he might best there make the fear of War, and be easiest accommodated with Provision and Ammunition.

The Duke of  
Hereford  
sworn not to  
do, or suffer  
any violence  
to be done to  
King *Richard*.

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In this expedition, no opposition was seen, nor hostility shown; but in his passage the Gentlemen of best rank and quality, joyned themselves unto him, some for affection, others for fear, but most in hope of reward after victory, every one, though upon causes dis-like, yet with like ardent desire contending, lest any should seem more forward than they. In every place also where he made stay, rich gifts, and pleasant devises were presented unto him, with large supply of necessities, far above his necessity. The common people with shouts and acclamations gave their applause, extolling the Duke as the only man of courage, saluting him King: with contumelious terms depraving *Richard*, as a simple and sluggish Man, a dastard, nyding, and altogether unworthy to bear Rule; without rule, railing at the one, and without reason flattering the other. The Duke was no niggard of his complement, nor negligent of popular behaviour, knowing the common people are much delighted with affable gestures, accounting that for courtesie which the severer sort reckon abasement. At *London* he was richly and Royally entertained, with Processions and Pageants, and many triumphant devices and Shows, and the unable multitude (who otherwise could not) by their words, wishes, and wills, did testifie their loving affection towards him.

At which time there appeared not any memory of Faith or Allegiance to King *Richard*. But (as in Sedition it always appeareth) as the most swayed, all went. The Duke of *York* was mustering at *St. Albanes* for the King; but as the people out of divers Countries were drawn thither, many of them protested that they would do nothing to the prejudice of the Duke of *Lancaster*, who they affirmed was unjustly expelled his Country, and unlawfully kept from his inheritance. Then the Earl of *Wiltshire*, Sir *John Bushy*, Sir *William Bagot*, and Sir *Henry Greene*, forsook the Duke of *York*, and fled to *Bristol*, intending to pass the Seas into *Ireland* to the King.

These four were they that were supposed to have taken of the King, his Kingdom to farm, and therefore were so odious to the people, that their presence turned away many of the Subjects hearts. Nay, it is probable, that more for displeasure taken against them, than against the King, the revolt was enterprised. For they being the only Men of credit, and authority with the King, under false cover of obedience, they wholly governed both the Realm and him, abusing his Name, either against his Will, or without his Knowledge, in so much that he was clearly innocent of many things, which passed under his Commandment: But the people could not indure, that two or three should rule all, not because they were not sufficient, but because they were in favour: and they distasted the King, in that he permitted them whom he might have bridled, to run without respect, or at least for that he was ignorant of that he should have known, and by conniving at their faults, made them his own, and opened thereby the gap to his destruction. For it is as dangerous to a Prince, to have hurtful and hateful Officers in eminent places, as to be hurtful and hateful to himself. The Duke of *York* either amazed at the sudden change, or fearing his adventure, if he should proceed to resistance, gave over the cause, and preferred present security before duty with danger, giving occasion thereby to be suspected to favour the Duke of *Lancasters* proceeding, and thereupon all the other Councillors, either openly declared for the Duke, or secretly wished his welfair. And abandoning all private directions and advice, adjoyned themselves to the common course, hoping thereby of greater safety.

In the mean time Duke *Henry* being at *London*, entred into consultation with



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The Duke of  
Hereford en-  
treth into  
Councel at  
London. War  
proclaimed  
against King  
Richard.

Lancasters  
Oration.

The Lord  
Treasurer  
pursued to  
Bristol.  
The Treasur-  
er with Sir  
John Busby,  
surprised in  
Bristol Castle,  
and after-  
wards execu-  
ted.

with his Confederates what way was best to take, amongst whom it was then concluded, finally to uncrown King *Richard*, and constitute Duke *Henry* King in his stead: And to that end open War was Proclaimed against King *Richard*, and all his partakers, as Enemies to the peace and quiet of the Kingdom; Pardon also was promised, to all those that would submit themselves to follow the present course, otherwise no favour to be expected; not one of the Nobility durst oppose himself in these designs; some unwilling to play all their Estate at one cast, kept themselves at liberty, to be directed by success of future event; others consented in terms of doubtful construction, with intent to interpret them afterwards, as occasion should change: But the most part directly, and resolutely entered into the action, and made their fortunes sharers with Duke *Henries*, in the danger, though not in the Honour, to whom Duke *Henry* used this speech.

I am, as you see, at your procurement returned, and by your means have undertaken Arms, to vindicate our common Liberty; hitherto we have prosperously proceeded: But in what terms we now stand, I am altogether unacquainted. As a private Man I would be loth to be reckoned, being by you designed to be a King; Prince I cannot be esteemed, whilst another possesseth the Crown; your Title likewise is in suspence, whether to be termed Rebels, or Subjects, until you have made manifest, that your Allegiance was bound rather to the State of the Realm, than the Person of the Prince; now you are they, that have both caused this doubtfulness, and must clear the point; your part still remaineth to be acted, your vertue and valour must add strength to this action; we have already ventured so far, that all hope of pardon is drowned, so that if we shrink back, and break this enterprise, no mercy is to be expected, but butchery and gibbets; if we delay the enterprise, we shall lose the opportunity, that now is offered, and give occasion of advantage to our adversaries. The peoples blood is up now on our sides, and nothing is wanting, but our care and your diligence; let us therefore now, not trifle more time in talking; but let us strike whilst the iron is hot; let us resolutely set forward, and possess our selves speedily of all parts of the Realm, so shall we be either able to keep out our concurrent, or else to entertain him little to his liking. Hereupon, Troops of Men are speedily sent into all quarters of the Kingdom, to keep King *Richards* party from drawing to a head. The vulgar (as Men broken with many burthens) readily entertained the first commers, and were not over-curious to side with the stronger: Duke *Henry* pursued the Treasurer, and his complices to *Bristol*, where he found the Castle fortified against him; but in four days he forced it, and therein surprised the Lord Treasurer, Sir *John Busby*, and Sir *Henry Greene*, whom the common people eagerly pursued to execution; no defence could be admitted, no excuse heard, no respite obtained, but still their rage continued, crying against them, that they were Traitors, blood-suckers, that had abused the King, and undone his Subjects to enrich themselves: And through their clamorous and importunate instance, the day following, the Earl of *Wiltshire* with the rest were beheaded. This Earl of *Wiltshire* was *William* Lord *Scroope*, in the twenty one year of *Richard* the second; Created Earl of *Wiltshire*, and made Lord Treasurer; he purchased the *Ile of Man*, and died without issue. Sir *William Bagot*, whilst the other went to *Bristol*, posted to *Chester*, and pursuit being made after the most, he alone escaped into *Ireland*. This execution partly because it pleased the people, and partly because it excluded all hope of the Kings pardon,

don, caused them to cleave more firm unto the Duke, which greatly increased both his hope, and glory, as having offers of so large aid, and so little need.

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In the mean time the news of the Dukes arrival, and occurrences thereupon, part true, part false, and all enlarged by many circumstances (as fame increaseth by going) was related to the King, he then being intangled with other broyles in *Ireland*; at the receipt whereof, he caused the Sons of the Dukes of *Glocester* and *Lancaster*, to be imprisoned at the Castle at *Trim*, and for the speedier dispatch to go into *England*, left most of the provision behind, halting and shuffling together, as his present haste did enforce, being both unskilful, and unfortunate himself, and void of all good direction from others; and with more haste than good speed, he took shipping, and within the space of three nights, with the Dukes *Aumerle*, *Exeter*, and *Surry*, the Bishop of *London*, *Lincoln*, and *Carlisle*, and some others, he arrived at *Milford* haven in *Wales*, in which Countrey-men he reposed his chief trust for safety; But when he saw, that contrary to expectation, that as well there, as in all other places, the people flocked to the Duke, and fled from him, and those that were with him were all wavering, and some revolted, all devices were disturbed, and he unresolved what course to take; on the one side he was confident his cause was right, his conscience being clear from any great bad demerit; on the other side, he saw the adversaries great strength, and the whole power of the Realm bent against him: And being more abashed by the one, than encouraged by the other, he was perplexed in uncertain terms, either where to stay, or whither to stir, wanting both knowledge and resolution himself, in cases of such difficulty, and obnoxious to unfaithful counsel: Some advised him to march further into the land, before his own forces fell from him, alledging, that fortune seconds valour; That in all places he should find some, who of duty, for favour, or hire, would joyn with him; others perswaded him to return into *Ireland*, and from thence to return when sufficiently strengthened. But the King unacquainted with Martial affairs, rejected both counsels, and in taking a middle course (which always in extremes of that kind is the worst) he resolved to stay in *Wales*, to attend to what head this humour would rise. The Duke upon advertisement of the Kings landing, with great power speeds to *Chester*, whereupon *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Worcester*, Steward of the Kings household, to vindicate the proclaiming his brother the Earl of *Northumberland* traitor, openly in the Hall before all the Kings servants broke his staff of office, and departed to the Duke, willing the rest to shift for themselves in time; hereby he lost his reputation on both sides, being by the one accounted a corrupter, by the other a betrayer of the King: The rest by his Example, more fearful than faithful, took every man his own way, and scattered. And they that in the Kings prosperity, would have contended to be foremost, now together draw back, and like Swallows forsake that house in Winter, where all the Summer they did feed and soyl. Between faint souldiers, and false friends, the King is abandoned: Look on he might, remedy it he could not, as not of force to punish that which he never forced to prevent; his present remedy is patience (a cold comfort;) his only revenge, complaint (a weak weapon;) Between both, thus he vents his passion.

The Sons of the Duke of *Glocester* and *Lancaster* imprisoned in *Trim* Castle in *Ireland*.

King *Richard* arriveth at *Milford* Haven.

Discouraged.

His Counsellours disagree

*Lancaster* marcheth towards the King. The Lord Steward dissolveth the Kings household.

King *Richard* expostulates with himself.

And do (saith he) all forsake me? doth their faith and my good fortune both end together? Had I forsaken them in time, I had not been forsaken of others, who once loved me better, but now are able to hurt me more. I confess the blindness of my judgment, and see there is no friendship in flattery, nor



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Consults with  
his followers.

nor treachery in plain truth, and with I had but as much space to reform this error, as I am like to have time to repent it; But ah! they would not suffer me to be wise when I might, and now they have made me wretched, they flye from me; they were content to be the causes, but will not be companions of my calamities; such attendants are like Crows to a dead carcass, which flock to it, not to defend it, but to devour it, and no sooner have they bared the bones, but they are gone.

Thus having lost both the fear and affection of his Subjects, distracted, without comfort, counsel, or courage, like an Exile in his own Kingdom, he remaineth in *Wales*, not daring to go to *London*, and no man desirous to come to him, shifteth still from place to place, fearing all things, but most misliking the present. The Duke pursueth him with all his power, but the King was too weak to do any thing by force, and yet too great to be undiscovered, neither had he any assurance of those few he had. At length he came to the Castle of *Conoway*, and there utterly destitute of help or hope, he stood divided in mind, which way to bend his course; his followers were more ready to oppugn the opinion of others, than to give direction themselves, as seeing better what to shun, than what to follow: and as it alwayes chanceth in desperate causes, that course is commonly made choice of, whereof the opportunity is already past. Some advised him that it was then time, rather to think of saving of life, than recovering his estate; give place (say they) to the current of this fury, let it have its full source, and when it is at the highest, it will turn again, and then you shall have the tyde as strong with you, as it is now against you: therefore give a little space, for the bad to draw back, for the good to put forward. Treason gets ground at the first, but good counsell gathers strength by cunctation. The minds of the multitude are only constant in unconstancy, and persevere only in change; in dislike of things present, they desire new, wherewith they rest not long contented, but are many times gluttied with the first sight: And how can they long endure the Reign of him, who mounting the Throne only by their favour, and strength, shall hold the same in a manner at their courtesie; every unpleasant command shall be deemed ingratitude, every suit (though never so unreasonable) if denied, shall charge him with unkindness: if honour be not offered, they will be much discontented, and upon every occasion of distaste, think themselves as able to displace him, as they were to set him up; You may therefore (say they) for a time return to *Ireland*, or go to your Father-in-law into *France*; you may assure your self of his assistance to stand upon your side to recover your losses. Others who were enemies to any counsell, how good soever it was, whereof themselves were not authors, perswaded the King, that his enemies would rather die than desist, not so much for enmity to him, as for caution to themselves: For it is a hard matter to forgive, but impossible to forget the indignities and injuries they have offered. And to omit what some Princes have done, what all will promise to do: They will soon find fresh and bleeding examples, what you are like to do: *Glocester*, *Arundel*, *Warwick*, made in direction, not to move you from the Crown, but to remove from your certain misleaders of your affections: an action more displeasing, than prejudicial unto you. Atonement was made, Charters of free pardon were granted under the great Seals: But what followed? was the breach ever perfectly made up? did displeasure die, or was it only dissembled? but the present wants of their lives, have fully revenged their deaths. For had they lived, their countenance and authority would

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would easily have stinted these strifes; but the manner of their death, persuades an obstinate resistance in all your adversaries: As for the refuge to forrain Princes, you may peradventure receive of them fair entertainment, and allowance; yet growing burdensome, it may perchance fail: But it is hard to draw a Prince into such a quarrel, and more hard by that means to prevail: Or if you should, it is to be feared, that the Victors will hold the benefit of the Conquest to themselves, and not yield it over to you. Few Countries (that have required such aid) but have been by Forrainers subdued. This drew the Saxons into the Land, who so assisted the Britons, that they could not be resisted from possessing their Kingdom; yet help of strangers in cases of extremity, is not altogether to be contemned, but it is a remedy last to be trusted to, least to be tried, but in no case altogether to be relied upon. What then if you procure a Treaty, to see in what terms the people stand against you? It may be upon fair quarter, they will submit, but if they will persist to uncrown you, an honorable stipend may be procured you; what shall you lose thereby? You have no child to be disinherited, the chief motive to make men greedy to get, and careful to retain. And as for your self, you shall be but translated from a steep and slippery hill, to a smooth and pleasant plain; from dangerous travel, to secure rest. And if there be no solace without safety, no felicity without firmness, you shall find the private life, not only more pleasant, but more happy than your princely state. The tallest Trees are weakest in the tops, and envy always aimeth at the highest: But you shall lose (you will say) the credit and countenance of a King, so shall you the cares and casualties: The Crown and Scepter are things most weighty to wield; if a Prince be good, he is laden with labour; if evil, with infamy, howsoever with perils, and tossed with strong and sturdy tempests; so that to be freed from these fears, is to be esteemed a gain, rather than a loss. Examples to prove this, are those of our own Country (without seeking of others) as may appear by *Kinigellus*, *Ina*, *Ceomulphe*, *Eadbertus*, *Etheldredus*, *Kenredus*, *Offa*, *Sebba*, and *Sigibertus*; who of their own accord, laid down their Diadems, and betook themselves to private and solitary lives. Many Princes have held their Estate with better fortune, but none with greater honour did leave it; others have either abandoned their Rule for ease, or to avoid danger, or upon some pretended devotion; but you for love to your Country, may seem to forbear to seek your remedy, to maintain War, wherein much blood may be spilt and the Realm deprived of many able Warriours: Let others be persuaded to forsake their Kingdoms, when they had no longer pleasure to hold them; but your praise will be for giving over, when it is to the greatest benefit of the people, and the more hope you have to prevail, if you list to contend; the greater commendations will it be to yield, as rather being voluntary than compulsive. The King commended the courage of the first, but this last counsel agreed best with his faint spirit, which was more inclinable to fear, than forward in hope, preferring abject and base safety, before hazard with honour; others thereupon earnestly assevered, That all conditions of yielding, were both dishonorable and dangerous; that in extremities noble Spirits will not suddenly give off, but labour courageously to repel the danger, or wisely to decline it; alleaging that none should so little esteem honour, as without battel or blow stricken, to be crest-fallen, and stoop to miserable mercy; others passionately said, if the honour of your noble House nothing move you, yet let danger and despair arm you with bold-



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ness, neither the Duke nor his adherents dare be so confident, to think themselves safe, so long as you shall remain (though in private state) alive; you may assure your self, fair words will be given, and large offers made, but the performance rests in the courtesie of the Conqueror: and nothing ought to be thought unlawful to him that hath Power. King *Edward* the second, one of your Progenitors, could not be endured by his own Son: many have used violence to themselves, rather than to fall into the power of their *Corrivals*; expect not then better fortune, than others have found; never be persuaded that a Prince may live safely (if known) in a private estate; betwixt *Cesar* and nothing, the highest honour, and the deadliest downfall, there is no mean: omit not therefore all, or any means unassaid, to maintain your party by Arms; you can but die if vanquished, and die you shall if you yield; but by the one you shall end your life with glory, by the other with perpetual reproach: And though now you equally esteem of both, yet when you shall be pent in prison, daily in fear, expecting the deadly messenger, you will find a difference in death, and the weakness of that counsel you are now about to follow. But the Kings ears were stopped against all impression of Valour, and being unable to Govern himself in Prosperity, he was now less sufficient to wind himself out of this labyrinth of Troubles: And being so beset, that he could neither escape, nor stand out; he desired conference with the Archbishop, and *Northumberland*; the one he had formerly Banished, the other proclaimed Traytor. These came unto him, but perceiving by little conference, how much they were bent against him; he demanded not, what he saw no likelihood to obtain, and agreed to relinquish his Estate, to have a competency of means, and the Lives of but eight such persons as he should nominate allowed unto him. This was readily and faithfully promised by them, and afterward ratified by the Duke. The King desired conference with the Duke, which likewise was promised, and so they departing, the King removed to *Flint Castle*, about eight miles from *Chester*, whither the Duke came; at whose enterview, the countenance and words of both were observed. The King seemed abject, the Duke neither insulting nor relenting, but rather comforting and promising friendly. The King repeated many benefits and courtesies that he had formerly shewed, that he had spared the Dukes own life, and now his Sons; in recompence whereof he with such submissness (as agreed rather with necessity than honour) desired the Duke to shew pitty to him, from whom he had received favour, and to permit him to live with the allowance of some fitting, but private estate of maintenance. The Duke to comfort him, gave him assurance to provide for his safety: For which he was contented to receive thanks as for a benefit. The King from that time was kept safe, and sure enough from hindering the Dukes projects: Neither could it so easily have been discerned, what had been best for him to do, as that this which he did, was the very worst; for the same night he was brought to *Chester*, and from thence secretly conveyed to the Tower of *London*, there to remain until the Parliament; which was appointed should be shortly after holden at *Westminster*.

King Richard  
yields to  
Duke Henry.  
Lancasters eas-  
ie Conquest.

The King yielded himself the twentieth day of *August*, being the forty seventh day after the Dukes arrival, so that considering his journeyes from *Holderness* in the North to *London*, from thence to *Bristol*, and so into *Wales*, and back again to *Chester*; a Man shall not more easily travel over it, then he Conquered it; so propitious were his Stars unto him, that

that he either found, or made a ready passage through all hinderances and obstacles; and it seemed, he only needed but to open his Arms, and Fortune would flie into his bosom. All the Kings Treasure and Jewels, with his Horse and fardage came to the Dukes hands; and many that were of his company, were dispoiled by the Souldiers of *Northumberland* and *Wales*. Some Writers barely upon conjectures affirm, that the King did not yield himself, but was surpris'd, passing from *Flint* to *Chester*: But the Authority of such as lived at that time, and either saw it, or had perfect intelligence of these affairs, such as for their place could not but know, and for their profession would not but deliver the very truth, so prevailed with Sir *John Heywood*, the Penner of this History, that he followed their report. As the King was in his journey towards *London*, some had conspired to lie in ambush by the way, to have slain him; But the Mayor of *London* upon intelligence thereof, prevented the practice, and went in person, and with convenient power, brought him to the Tower. Shortly after, the Duke came to *London* in solemn Estate, and sent forth summons in the Kings name, for a Parliament to be holden the last day of *September* in the same year; in the mean time he consulted with his dear Friends, and near Kindred, for order to be taken in his proceedings. The Duke of *York*, who but a little before, had been Governor of the Realm for the King, was now the Dukes chief director, he thought it best that King *Richard* should both voluntarily resign, and also solemnly be deposed, by consent of all the States of the Realm. For resignation would be imputed only to fear, deprivation to force; whereof the one is always pitied; and the other envied. But if both concur, and his desire be combined with his desert, being willing to forsake that, which he is adjudged worthy to forego; then it will appear that he is neither expelled his Kingdom by meer constraint, nor leaveth it without just cause; this advice generally pleased. And for execution thereof, upon the Feast of *St. Michael* (which was the day before the Parliament should begin) there assembled at the Tower, *Thomas Arundell*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; *Richard Scroope*, Archbishop of *York*; *John*, Bishop of *Hereford*; *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Radulph* Earl of *Westmerland*, Lord *Hugh Burrell*, Lord *Thomas Berkley*, Lord *Rosse*, Lord *Willowbigh*, Lord of *Abergany*, the Abbot of *Westminster*, the Prior of *Canterbury*, *William Thirnings*, and *John Markham* Chief Justices, *Thomas Stokey* and *Burbache* Doctors of the Law, *Thomas Herpingham*, *Thomas Gray* Knights, *William Ferly* and *Dionise Lophane* Notaries publick; and divers others, neither noted nor remembered. When all were set in their places, King *Richard* was brought forth, apparelled in a Royal Robe, the Diadem on his Head, and his Scepter in his Hand, and was placed amongst them in a Chair of State; never was Prince so gorgeous with less glory and more grief; to whom it was not thought disgrace sufficient, to lose both the honour and ornaments of a King; but he must openly to his greater scorn, renounce the one, and surrender up the other. After he had sat a while and pawed, he used these words to the Assembly:

I perswade my self, that many here present, and many more hereafter, will account my case lamentable, either that I have deserved this dejection; if it be just, or if it be wrongful that I could not avoid it; I confess with shame and grief, that many times I have appeared, both less provident, and less painful for the benefit of the Republick, than I should or might, or would have been hereafter; and have in many actions, more respected the

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A Parliament  
summoned by  
the Duke in  
the Kings  
Name.

King Richards  
Speech.



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satisfying my own particular humour, or some private persons, than the rules of justice, or the common good of all; yet did I not at any time, either altogether omit duty, or commit grievance, upon supine dulness, or set malice, but partly by abuse of corrupt Counsellors, chiefly by error of my youthful rash conceit without true judgment: The remembrance of these over-sights, are to no man so unpleasant, as to my self; and the rather, because I have no means left, either to recompence the injuries done, or to testifie to the World my reformed affections, which experience and maturity of years had already begun to correct, and would I assure my self, have grown to a more perfect frame, if but permitted to have continued. But whether all imputed to me, be true, either in substance or quality, according as they are suggested; or whether being true, they be so exorbitant, as to enforce these extremities; or whether any other Prince, especially in youthful blood, and in the space of two and twenty years (the time of my unfortunate reign) doth not sometimes, either for advantage or displeasure, in as deep manner grieve some particular subject, I will not now examine: it boots not to use defence; nor much availeth to make complaint: there is left no place for the one, nor pity for the other: And therefore I refer all to Gods pleasure, and your more collected considerations: I accuse no man, I blame not fortune, I complain of nothing. There is no pleasure in such airy comforts; it may be if I had had will to have stood upon terms, I could have procured great favours abroad, and (presume) some good friends at home, who would have been ready, (it may be too forward) on my behalf, to set up a dangerous and doubtful War: But I estimate not worldly dignity at so high a rate, to hazzard the spilling of so much Christian blood, and the spoiling of so flourishing a Country, as thereby might have been occasioned in my quarrel. Therefore that the Common-wealth may rather rise by my fall, than I stand by the ruine thereof, I willingly submit to your desires, and am here come to dispossess my self of all Regal and publick Authority or title: And to make it free and lawful for you to Elect, and Create for your King, *Henry Duke of Lancaster*, my Uncles Son, whom I know to be as worthy to take that place, as I see you willing to confer it upon him.

Then he read openly and distinctly, the form of his Cession, wherein he did declare that he had discharged his Subjects from their obligations of Fealty and homage, and all other tyes whatsoever: And of his own will and free motion, did repudiate the Title, Dignity, and Authority of a King, and rendred up the possession of the Realm, with the use and title thereof, and all the rites thereunto appertaining; and thereunto subscribed and made oath for the performance; and then with his own Hands delivered the Crown, Scepter, Robe, and Ornaments to the Duke of *Lancaster*, saying; Cousin, I wish you more happiness herewith, than ever hapned to my self. Then did he constitute the Archbishop of *York*, and the Bishop of *Hereford* his Procurators, to intimate and declare this his resignation to all the States of the Parliament. Lastly, He gave all his Treasure to the sum of three hundred thousand pounds in Coin, besides his Jewels and Plate, for satisfaction of injuries done, desiring the Duke and those present, severally by their names, not altogether to forget that he had been their King, nor yet too much to think upon it; but to retain a moderate remembrance of him, and in recompence of the ease he had done them by this voluntary resignation, to permit him to live safely, in a private life: with the

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contemplation whereof he was so taken, that from thenceforth he would prefer it before any worldly preferment. This was done with voyce and countenance so consonant to his present passion, that not any present, not un-mindful of humane instabillity, which was not in some measure moved there-at: inso-much that some few tears secretly dropped from many eyes there present, in whose thoughts a confused, but obscure alteration already began to take rising; so prone is mankind to pity misery, though by themselves procured, and to envy prosperity, even in those themselves have raised.

The Monday following, the Parliament began at *Westminster*, and there the Archbishop of *York*, and the Bishop of *Hereford* (the late Kings Attorneys for this purpose) openly declared to the States (there Assembled) the late Kings voluntary resignation; and demanded whether they would assent, and agree thereunto? The Barons of the Realm, by particular assent, the Commons with general voice, accepted and admitted the same: Then it was thought requisite, that some defects and misdemeanours in point of government, should be objected against the late King, for which he might be adjudged, as unworthy, as he seemed unwilling to retain the Sovereignty: whereupon certain Articles were ingrossed and publicly read, in which was contained how unprofitable he had been to the Realm, how unjust and grievous to the Subjects, repugnant both to his Oath and Honour.

The principal of which Articles were:

1 That he had wastfully spent the Treasure of the Realm, and had to unworthy persons given the possessions of the Crown, by reason whereof many great and grievous Taxes were daily laid upon the Commons.

2 That whereas divers Lords, as well Spiritual as Temporal, were by the high Court of Parliament, appointed to treat of matters concerning the State of the Kingdom; they being busied about the same Commission, he with others of his accomplices, went about to appeach them of high Treason.

3 That by force and threats he enforced the Judges of the Realm at *Shrewsbury*, to condescend to his way, for the destruction of the said Lords. That thereupon he raised War against *John Duke of Lancaster*, *Thomas Earl of Arundel*, *Richard Earl of Warwick*, and others, contrary to his promise, in derogation of the Honour of the King: That he caused his fathers own brother, the Duke of *Glocester*, without law to be attached and sent to *Callice*, and there without reason secretly murdered: That notwithstanding the Earl of *Arundel* at his arraignment, pleaded his Charter of pardon, he could not be heard, but was shamefully and suddenly put to death: That he assembled certain Lancashire and Cheshire men, to make War upon the foresaid Lords, and suffered them to rob and spoyl, without reproof or prohibition.

4 That though he dissembled, and had made Proclamation, That the Lords were not attached for any crime of Treason, but for oppression done within the Realm: yet he objected against them in the Parliament, Treason and Rebellion.

5 That notwithstanding his Pardon granted to them, he enforced divers of the Lords partakers, to be again intolerably fined, to their utter undoing.

6 That contrary to his promise in Parliament, he to his great dishonour kept away divers Rowls and Records, which by agreement should have been shown to certain Commissioners, appointed to treat of the affairs of the Commonwealth.



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7 That he commanded that no man upon pain of death, should intreat for the return of *Henry* now Duke of *Lancaster*.

8 That whereas the Realm is immediately holden of God, he after he had obtained in Parliament divers Acts for his own particular ends, procured Bulls and heavy censures from *Rome*, to compel his Subjects, to observe and perform them, contrary to the honour and ancient priviledge of this Kingdom.

9 That though the Duke of *Lancaster* had done his devoir against the Duke of *Norfolk* in defence of his quarrel, yet he banished him the Land, without showing just cause: contrary to equity and the Law of Arms.

10 That having under the great Seal given leaye to the said Duke of *Hereford*, to make Proxies and Attornies to prosecute and defend his causes: The said King after the Dukes departure, would not permit any to appear for him.

11 That he had put out divers high Sheriffs, having been lawfully elected, putting into their rooms, some of his Favourites, subverting the course of the Law, contrary to his Oath and Honour.

12 He borrowed great sums, and bound himself for repayment, but no penny thereof paid.

13 That he laid taxations upon his Subjects at his pleasure, consuming the Treasure in idle expences, but not paying the poor Subject for his own viands.

14 That he affirmed all the Law lay in his head and breast, by which phrenetical conceit, divers of the Nobility were destroyed, and the poor Commons fleeced.

15 That he procured by his Solicitors in the Parliament, an Act to be established, that no Act of Parliament should be more prejudicial to him, than it was to his Predecessors; through which Proviso, he did what he list, and not what the Law did allow.

16 That for his ends, he would keep Sheriffs of Shires longer than one or two year in the Office.

17 That he put out divers Knights and Burgeffes legally Elected, and put others of his own choice in their rooms, to serve his own turn.

18 That he had spies and informers in every Countrey, to hear and observe the words and demeanours of the people: And if any reprov'd his loose and licentious courses, they were convented and grievously fined.

19 The spirituality objected against him, that at his going into *Ireland*, he squeezed out from them many sums of money, besides Jewels and Plate, without Law or Custom, contrary to his Oath at his Coronation: That divers Lords and Justices, being sworn to speak the truth in divers things concerning the Honour and Safety of the Realm, and profit of the King, he did so threaten them, that no man would, or durst deliver the truth.

20 That without the assent of the Peers, he carried the Jewels and Plate of this Kingdom into *Ireland*, to the great impoverishing of the Realm, many of them being there lost.

21 That he caused all remembrances of the great exactions and extortions by him used, and safely deposited amongst the Parliamentary Records, to be privily imbezeled and carried away.

22 That in all his Letters to the Pope, and other Princes, his stile was cunning and obscure, that neither they, nor his own Subjects were certain of his true meaning.

23 That he forgetfully affirmed, that all the Lives of his Subjects were in his hands, to dispose at pleasure.

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24 That he contrary to the great Charter of *England*, procured divers able men, to appeal aged people, upon matters determinable at Common Law in the Marshals Court, because in that Court there is no tryal but by battel, whereby such Appealers, knowing their insufficiency, submitted themselves to his mercy, whom he at his pleasure unreasonably fined.

25 That he devised strange forms of Oaths, contrary to Law, and enforced divers his Subjects to take and observe the same, and to that end bound them by Recognizance, to the great hinderance of many poor men, and the dishonour of God.

26 That where the Chancellour, upon good grounds, denied a prohibition, to a certain person moving for the same: yet he granted it to the same person, under the privy Seal, with a grievous pain if not obeyed.

27 That he banished the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, without just cause, or judgement, and kept him with armed men in the Parliament Chamber.

28 That he granted all his Goods to his Successors, conditionally that he should maintain all the Statutes made Anno 21. at *Shrewsbury*, and the 22. year of his reign at *Coventry*.

29 That upon the first convention of the Bishop of *Canterbury*, he cunningly perswaded the Archbishop to make no answer: for he would be his warrant, perswading him to decline the Parliament: And so without answer he was condemned to be exiled, and his Goods seized on; four other Articles in behalf of the Bishops, were laid against him, by whose doings only the King was utterly undone.

Then was demanded of the Nobility, and Commons of the Realm, what they judged of the substance and truth of these Articles? who all agreed, that the crimes were notorious: And that the King was worthy for the same, to be deposed from his Princely dignity. The Noblemen partly corrupted by favour, partly over-awed by fear, gave their voices. And the Commons, who commonly are like a flock of Cranes, as the first fly, all follow, did the like. Commissioners are appointed by both Houses, who pronounced sentence of Deposition against King *Richard*, in manner and form as followeth.

In the name of God, Amen. We *John* Bishop of *Asaph*, *John* Abbot of *Glaffenbury*, *Thomas* Earl of *Glocester*, *Thomas* Lord *Barkley*, Sir *Thomas* *Erpingham*, and Sir *Thomas* *Gray* Knights, and *William* *Thirning* Justice, Commissioners for the causes hereafter specified: By the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of the Realm of *England*, representing all the States of our Kingdom, specially deputed, sitting in place of judgement, considering the manifold perjuries, and cruelties, and many other the crimes and offences, by *Richard* late King of this Realm committed and done (contrary to good Government) in the Realms and Dominions aforesaid, during the time of his reign: Also considering the Articles which were openly exhibited and read, before the said States, which were so publick, notorious, manifest, and famous, that they neither could, nor can by any shift, or cover, be concealed, or avoided: considering also the Confession of the said King, acknowledging and reputing, and truly upon his certain knowledge, judging himself to have been, and to be altogether insufficient, and unskilful for the Rule and Government of the Realm and Dominions aforesaid, and not unworthy to be Deposed, for the notorious demerits by the said *Richard*

first



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A fained  
Title.

D. Lancaster  
layeth his  
claim to the  
Crown.

The Duke of  
Lancaster ac-  
cepted for  
King.

first acknowledged, and after by his will and mandate before the said Stat es published, and to them opened and declared in English tongue, upon these and other matters which were done, concerning the same business, before the said States and Us, by the delegation, place, name and Authority to Us in this part committed: in pursuance whereof We pronounce, decree, and declare the said *Richard*, to have been, and be unprofitable, unable and altogether insufficient, and unworthy for the Rule and Government of the said Realms; and in regard and respect of the premises, worthy to be deposed from all Kingly dignity and honour (if any such dignity and honour remaineth in him:) And for the like cautele, We do depose him by our sentence definitive in this Writing, inhibiting from henceforth, expressly, all and singular Lords, Archbishops, Bishops, Prelates, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Barons, Knights, Vassals, and all other Persons whatsoever of the said Realms, heretofore the Subjects of the same, and every of them, that from henceforth none obey, or intend to obey the said *Richard*, as King or Lord of the Dominions aforesaid. And afterwards the same Commissioners by the consent and suffrage of both Houses, were constituted Procurators joyntly and severally, for all the States of the Realm, to resign, and surrender unto King *Richard* for them, and all other homagers of the Realm, all the homages and fealties, which were both due, and done unto him, as King and Sovereign: And also to declare unto him all the premises concerning his Deposition. Now *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, that he might be reputed, or reported at the least, not to attain the Kingdom by intrusion and wrong, was counselled by his friends, to pretend some lawful challenge, or claim thereunto: And being in power, it was no sooner advised what was to be done, but it was presently devised how to do it: So a Title was drawn from *Edmond*, Son to King *Henry* the third, whom they nicknamed Crook-back, affirming, that he was the eldest Son of King *Henry*, and that he for his deformity was put from his right of succession, which was for that cause given to King *Edward* the first. To this *Edmond* the Duke was next of blood, by his Mother *Blanch*, sole Daughter and Heir to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, and Son to the same *Edmond*. This cunning conveyance was perceived by most; but seeming not to perceive it, was a point of friendship in some, and of obedience in the rest. Therefore the Crown of *England*, being supposed unpossessed, both by the resignation, and also by the deposition of King *Richard*; Duke *Henry* arose from off his seat, and standing in the most view of the Assembly, making the sign of the Cross on his forehead, and breast, said as followeth:

In the name of God, Amen. I *Henry* of *Lancaster*, claim as my right, the Crown, and Realm of *England*, with all the Dominions and appendices to the same, as being lineally descended, by the right line, from the Blood Royal, coming from that good Lord, King *Henry* the third, and through the right that God of his grace hath sent me, by his assistance, and the help of my ready kindred, and noble friends, have adventured to recover the same, which was in point of destruction, for want of good Government, and orderly distribution of justice therein. And therewith reseated himself.

Then was it demanded in both Houses, upper and lower, whether they did consent, that the Duke should reign over them, who all with one voice accepted of him for their King. Then the Archbishop of *Canterbury* took him by the hand, and placed him in the Throne of State, the Archbishop of *York* assisting him, and all the Parliament testifying their own joy, and wishing his. Then the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, upon this place of Scrip-  
ture

ture, 1 Reg. 9. 17. See, *this is the man whom I spake to thee of, this same shall reign over my people*: did make a paraphrastical exposition; which ended, the Duke was generally Proclaimed King by the Name of *Henry the Fourth, King of England, and France, Lord of Ireland*. The Common people void of cares, not searching into sequels, but without difference of right or wrong, inclinable to follow the mighty, with shouts and clamors gave their applause, not all upon judgment, or faithful meaning, but only upon received custom at first to flatter the Prince, whatsoever he be: But lest the humour thereof should allay by delay, it was forthwith Proclaimed, that upon the thirteenth of *September* next ensuing, the Coronation of the King should be celebrated at *Westminster*. These matters being thus dispatched, the Proclaimed King rose from his Seat, and went to *Whitehall*, where he feasted the Assembly Royally: yet he made no show of stateliness, or pride, or change of deportment, in this so great change of fortune. Upon *Wednesday* following, the before remembred Procurators, went to the deposed King to the Tower, and declared to him the admission of his resignation, and the manner of his Deposition; and in the Name of the States of the Realm, did surrender back the Homage and Fealty formerly due unto him, with this attestation, that no Man from thenceforth would bear unto him Faith and Allegiance, as due to a King: The King answered that he little regarded titular circumstances, but contented himself with hope, that his Cousin would be a gracious Lord, and good Friend unto him. And accordingly, upon the day appointed, which was upon the day of the translation of King *Edward the Confessor*, the Duke of *Lancaster* with all accustomed Ceremonies, was by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* Sacred and Anointed, and Crowned upon the very same day, that the year before he had been banished the Realm; he was Anointed with an Oyl which a religious Man had given to *Henry* the first Duke of *Lancaster* (Grand-father to the King by the Mothers side) when he served in the Wars of King *Edward* the third in *France*, together with this Prophecie, that those Kings which should be Anointed therewith at their Coronation, should be the Champions of the Church. Duke *Henry* delivered this Oyl in a golden Viol to Prince *Edward*, eldest Son of King *Edward* the third, who locked up the same, in a barred Chest in the Tower, with a Ticket of the prediction, with intent to be therewith at his Coronation Anointed: But he dying before his Father, it remained there, either not remembred, or not regarded, until this present year, wherein the King being on his Voyage into *Ireland*, and making diligent search, for the Jewels and Reliques of his Progenitors, found this Viol and Prophecie: And understanding the mystery thereof, was desirous to be Anointed again with that Oyl: But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* perswaded him that both the fact was unlawful, and the president never seen, that a King should be Anointed twice: Whereupon the King took the Viol with him into *Ireland*, and when he yielded himself at *Flint*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* demanded it of him, and receiving it, reserved the same, until the Coronation of *Henry* the fourth, who was the first King that ever was Anointed therewith. To discourse either of the authority, or certainty of these Prophecies, I presume not; but this is observed, many of them fail, or are fulfilled in another sense, than as they are ordinarily conceived and taken. During the time of this King's Reign, execution by fire was first put in practice within this Realm for Controversies in point of Religion: in any other matter he did make the Church as much Champane, as show himself Champion of the Church:

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The Commissioners acquaint King Richard with the resolution of the House.

Henry the fourth crowned.

Burning of Heretics first practised.



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Church: But afterwards his Successors were Entitled *Defenders of the Faith*; And how in Action the first receiver of that Title did verifie the same, I refer to the report of those times. Upon mature consideration it was found, that the Title derived from *Edmond* surnamed *Crouch back*, to *Henry*, would upon examination appear but a jeer, for that the said *Edmond* was neither eldest Son to *Henry* the third, nor yet a deformed person, but a proper Gentleman, and a brave Commander in the Field, and so respected of his Father, that he gave him both the Heritage and Honours of *Simon Mumford*, Earl of *Leicester*; of *Ferrare*, Earl of *Darby*; and of *John* Baron of *Monmoth*; who to their own ruin had displayed seditious Ensigns against the King; under which *Leicester* was slain at the Battel of *Evesham*: and to engratiate him to *Blaunch*, the Queen of *Navarre*, he first created him Earl of *Lancaster*, and gave unto him the County, Castle and Town of *Lancaster*, with the Forrests of *Wireldale*, *Lonsdale*, *New-castle* beneath the *Line*, the Mannor, Castle, and Forrests of *Pickering*, the Mannor of *Scalby*, the Town of *Glecester*, of *Huntingdon*, &c. and made him high Steward of *England*, with many Privileges and other Titles of Honour. Therefore King *Henry*, upon the day of his Coronation, caused to be Proclaimed, That he claimed the Crown of *England*, First, By right of Conquest; Secondly, Because King *Richard* had resigned his Estate, and designed him for his Successor; Lastly, Because he was of the Blood Royal, and next Heir-male to King *Richard*, *Heres malus* indeed cried *Edmond Mortimer* Earl of *March*, to some of his familiars, and so is a Pirat to a Merchant, when he dispoileth him of all that ever he hath. This *Edmond* Earl of *March*, was Son to *Roger* not long before slain in *Ireland*, who had been publicly declared Heir to the Crown, in case King *Richard* should have died without issue, as descended by his Mother *Philip*, from *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, who was elder Brother to *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, King *Henries* Father; and therefore the said *Edmond* thought himself (as in truth he was) nearer Heir-male to Succession of the Crown, than he that by colour of right claiming it, carried it by dint of Force. But the condition of the time was such, that he supposed it was in vain for him to stir, where King *Richard* could not stand; whereupon he dissembled, either that he saw his wrong, or that he regarded it, and chose rather to suppress his Title for a time, than by untimely opposing himself to have it oppressed, and depressed for ever: He withdrew himself therefore from *London*, to his Lordship of *Wigmore* in the West parts of this Realm, and there settled himself to a quiet and retired life; he counted it a point of wisdom to meddle with nothing, whereof any man was chargeable to render account: in revenues he was not great, in apparel moderate, in company and train not excessive (yet in all these honorable, and according to his degree) so that they that esteemed Men by the outward appearance only, could see in him no great shew of wit, or courage to be feared, or of wealth or honour, in his Estate to be envied. And thus whilst that a greater enemy was feared, he passed unregarded, making himself safe by contempt, where nothing was so dangerous as popular opinion, and raked up those coles in security for a time, which afterward set all the Realm on fire. King *Richard* being now deposed, was sent after his resignation to *Leeds* in *Kent*, but afterwards to *Pomfret* Castle, where we leave him.

THE  
LIFE and REIGN  
OF  
King HENRY IV.



ENRY, surnamed *Bullingbrook*, Duke of *Hereford*, and Son of *John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, fourth Son of King *Edward* the Third; beginning his Reign the 29. of September 1399. presently after his Coronation, created his eldest Son, Lord *Henry*, being about thirteen years of age, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*; and soon after, Duke of *Aquitaine*; he made also many new Officers: His second Son *Thomas*, he made Lord High Steward of *England*; ap-

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pointing the Earl of *Worcester* his Assistant, during the Minority of the said *Thomas*: The Earl of *Northumberland*, he made Lord High Constable: The Earl of *Westmerland*, Marshal of *England*. He was Crowned at *Westminster* the thirteenth of *October* following, being *Munday*, the day kept holy in commemoration of Saint *Edward* the Confessor. The Dukes of *York*, *Surrey*, *Albemerle*, with the Earl of *Glocester*, bare the Canopy over him, (which Office the Barons of the Cinque-ports do at this day execute) Sir *Thomas Dymock* was Champion, and armed *Cap-a-pe*, rood about the Hall, challenging any that should gain-say the Kings right to the Crown of *England*. The King likewise made Sir *John Shirley*, Lord Chancellor; *John Norbury* Esquire, Lord Treasurer; Sir *Richard Clifford*, Lord Privy Seal. Upon the fourth of *October*, the Lord High Steward, by his Fathers command, sat in the Kings Hall at *Westminster*, and caused Proclamation to be made, That any that could justly claim any Office at the solemnization of the Kings Coronation, should prefer their Petitions; whereupon divers claimed Offices and Fees: And those to whom the rights of such claims appertained, were admitted accordingly. The Parliament was prorogued to the morrow after Saint *Edwards* day, upon their re-assembly, it was enacted, that the Inheritance of the Crown and Realm of *England*, and of all the Dominions to the King of *England* appertaining, should be united, and remain in the person of King *Henry*, and in the Heirs of his body lawfully begotten: And that Prince *Henry* his eldest Son, should be his



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of Carlisle's  
Oration.

his Heir apparent, and Successor in the premisses; and if he should die without issue, then they were entailed to his other Sons successively in order, and to the Heirs of their bodies; so that nothing was left undone, that the wit of Man could invent, and authority refulcite, for the setting of the right to the Crown in him and his Heirs. In this Parliament were deprived of their dignities, the Dukes of *Surrey*, *Aumerle*, and *Exeter*; the Marquess *Dorset*, and Earl of *Glocester* underwent the like sentence. The Inheritance of the Kingdom settled, and some exemplary punishments of some the late Kings ill Counsellors made: A motion was made in Parliament, what should be done with the deposed King.

*Thomas Merks* the Bishop of *Carlisle*, a Man that used both liberty and constancy in a good cause; in his private judgment, having never allowed these proceedings, but dissembled his dislike, till fit time to declare it, being in a place to be heard, and by the order of the House, not to be interrupted of any, rose up, and with a grave countenance and settled courage, said, This question (right Honorable) concerneth a matter of great consequence and weight, the determining whereof will assuredly procure either quiet or turmoile, both to the publick State, and our particular consciences. Therefore before any resolution thereof be given, I beseech you to take into your more serious consideration, these two things: First, Whether King *Richard* be sufficiently deposed or not: Secondly, Whether King *Henry* be by Justice and good advisement seated in the Succession: In the first point is to be examined, whether a King by lineal Succession, Crowned, Anointed, and lawfully Invested, may upon imputation, either of Negligence or Tyranny, be deposed by his Subjects? Secondly, What *Richard* had omitted in the one, or committed in the other, that might deserve that heavy judgment? I will not dispute what may be done, in a Popular, or Consular estate, in which though one beareth the Title and Honour of a Prince, yet he hath no Supream power of a King: But in the one the Nobility and chief Men of State, in the other the People have greatest Prerogative; in neither the Prince. Of the last sort was the Commonwealth of the *Lacedæmonians*, who by that form of Government which *Licurgus* framed, oftentimes fined, sometimes fettered their Princes, sometimes put them to death; such were the petty Kings in *France* in *Cæsars* time, who were oftentimes arraigned and executed: and the Princes of the *Leodienses*, as *Ambiorix* confessed, had no greater power over their Subjects, than their Subjects had over them. And of the second condition were the *Roman* Emperors at the first, being subject to the censure of the Senate; and such are now the Emperors of *Germany*; whom the other Princes by their Aristocratical power, do not only restrain, but sometimes remove; such are the Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweveland*, who are many times by their Nobility dejected, either into prison or exile: such are the Dukes of *Venice*, and some other free States of *Italy*: And the chiefest cause why *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, was lately expelled, was for assuming unto himself the Cognizance of life and death, which Authority was never incident to his Dignity. In these, and such like Governments, the Prince hath not absolute Regality, but is himself subject to that power, which is more transcendent than his, whether it be in the Nobility or Multitude. But if the Sovereign Majesty be in the Prince, as it was in the first three Emperors, and in the Kingdoms of *Judea* and *Israel*, and is now in the Kingdoms of *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, *Spain*, *Muscovia*, *Turky*, *Tartary*, *Persia*, *Ethiopia*, and almost all the

the Kingdoms of *Asia* and *Africa*; although for his vices, he be unprofitable to the Subjects, yea hurtful, yea intolerable; yet can they neither hazard his power, nor harm his Person, either by judicial proceedings, or by force; for neither one, nor all Magistrates, have any Authority over the Prince, from whom all Authority is derived, and whose only presence doth silence and suspend all inferiour jurisdiction and force, And for power, what Subject can assault or counsel, or conceal violence against his Prince, and not incur the high and heinous crime of *sawsonry* or treason; it is a common saying, *thought is free*, free indeed from punishment of secular Laws, except by word or deed it break forth into action; yet the secret thoughts against the Sacred Majesty of a Prince, without attempt, without endeavour, have been adjudged to death. And some, who in auricular confession, have discovered their treacherous devices against the King in person, have for the same been executed. All Laws do exempt a mad man from punishment, because their actions are not governed by their will, and the will of man being set apart, all his deeds are indifferent, neither can the body offend without a corrupt or erroneous mind; yet if a mad-man but draw his weapon upon his King, it hath been adjudged worthy death. And lest any man should surmise, that Princes, for the maintenance of their own safety, and sovereignty, are the only authors of these judgements; Let us examine with consideration, the patterns and precepts, to this purpose set forth in the sacred Text. *Nabuchadnezzar* King of *Affria*, wasted all *Palestine* with fire and sword, oppugned the holy City a great while, and at the last expugned it; slaughtered the King, burnt the Temple, carried away the holy Vessels and Treasure, and permitted the Souldiers with unmerciful cruelty to spoil and ransack all the people with fire and sword, and whom from thence had escaped, and the pestilence had spared, he led captive into *Chaldea*, and there erected his golden Image, commanding those that refused to worship it, to be cast into the fiery Furnace; notwithstanding God calleth *Nabuchadnezzar* his servant, and promiseth him wages for his service. And the Prophets *Jeremiah* and *Baruck*, did write unto the *Jewes* to pray for the life of him and of *Balthazar* his Son, that their days upon earth might be as the days of heaven: and *Ezekiel* with bitter terms upbraided the disloyalty of *Zedechiah*, for revolting from *Nabuchadnezzar*, after homage done unto him. Did not *Saul* put all the Priests to death, because one of them did relieve holy and harmless *David*? did he not prosecute his faithful servant, and dutiful Son-in-law, yet was not he spared, nay, protected by him? And was not *David* much grieved for but taking away the lap of his garment, and afterwards caused the messenger to be slain, that upon request, and for pity did lend his hand (as himself reported) to hasten the voluntary death of that sacred King? As for the contrary examples of *John*, they were done by expresse Oracle and revelation from God, and are no more set down for our imitation, than the robbing the *Egyptians*, or any other particular or privileged commandment, but in the general precept, which all men must ordinarily follow; not only our actions, but our speeches also, and our very thoughts are strictly charged, with duty and obedience to Princes, whether they be good or evil. The Law of God ordaineth, That he that doth presumptuously against the Ruler of the people, shall die. And the Prophet *David* forbiddeth both by precept and practice, to touch the Lords anointed; *Thou shalt not* (saith the Lord) *rayl upon the Judges, neither speak evil of the Ruler of the people.* And the Apostles do demand further, that even our thoughts and souls, be obedient to higher Powers

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Jerem. 25. 9.

Deut. 17. 12.

Rom. 13. 12



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R. i.

Sap. 6.

And lest any should imagine, that they meant of good Princes only; they speak generally of all. And further, to take away all doubt, they make express mention of the evil: For the power and authority of wicked Princes, is the ordinance of God. And therefore Christ told *Pilat*; That the power which he had, was given him from above. And the Prophet *Esay* called *Cyrus*, being a prophane and heathen Prince, the Lords annointed: For, God turneth the hearts even of wicked Princes to do his will. And as *Jehoshaphat* said to his Rulers, They execute not the judgement of man, but of the Lord. In regard whereof *David* calleth them gods, because they have the rule and authority even from God, which if they do abuse, they are not to be adjudged by their Subjects; for no power within their Dominion is superior to theirs. But God reserveth them to their sorest tryal, *Horribly and suddenly* (saith the Wise man) *will the Lord appear to them, and a hard judgement shall they have.* The Law of God commandeth, that the child should be put to death, for any contumely done unto the Parents; but what if the Father be a robber? if a murderer? if for excess of villanies, odious and execrable both to God and Man? surely he deserveth the greatest degree of punishment, and yet must not the Son lift up his hand against him, for no offence can be so great, as to be punished by parricide. But our Countrey is (or ought to be) more dear to us than our Parents. And the Prince is the Father of the Countrey, and therefore more sacred and dear to us than our Parents by nature, and must not be violated, how imperious, how impious soever he be: doth he command or demand our purses or persons, we must not shun the one, nor shrink from the other; for as *Nehemiah* saith, Kings have dominion over the cattle of their Subjects at their pleasure. Doth he enjoin those actions, which are contrary to the Laws of God, we must neither wholly obey, nor violently resist, but with a constant courage, submit our selves to all manner of punishment, and shew our subjection, by suffering and not performing: yea, the Church hath declared it to be an heresie, to hold, that a Prince may be slain, or deposed by his Subjects, for any default or disorder of life, or default in government. There will be faults so long as there be men: and as we endure with patience a barren year, if it happen, and unseasonable weather; so must we tolerate the imperfections of Rulers, and quietly expect either reformation or alteration. But alas! what such cruelty, what such impiety, hath King *Richard* committed? examine the imputations objected, with the false circumstance of aggravation, and you shall find but little of truth, or of great moment; it may be many oversights have escaped (as who lives without offending) yet none so grievous to be termed tyranny, as proceeding rather from unexperienced ignorance, or corrupt counsel, than from any natural or wilful malice. Oh! how should the world be pestered with tyrants, if Subjects might be permitted to rebel, upon pretence of tyranny? how many good Princes should often be suppressed by those by whom they ought to be supported? if they but levy a Subsidie, or any other Taxation, it shall be judged oppression; if they put any to death for traiterous attempts against their persons, it shall be exclaimed at for cruelty; if they shall do any thing against the good liking of their people, it shall be proclaimed tyranny.

But let it be that without desert in him, or authority in us, King *Richard* must be deposed; yet what right hath the Duke of *Lancaster* to the Crown? or what reason have we, without right, to give it him? If he make Title as Heir to King *Richard*, then must he stay King *Richards* death; for no man  
can

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can succeed as Heir to the living ; but 'tis well known to all Men, who are not wilfully blind, or grossly ignorant : that, there are some yet alive, lineally descended from *Lionel Duke of Clarence*, whose issue by the judgment of the high Court of Parliament, in the eighth year of King *Richards* reign, was declared Heir apparent to the Crown in case King *Richard* should die without issue. The claim from *Edmond Crouchback*, I pass over the authors thereof, themselves being ashamed of so absurd an abuse ; and therefore all the pretence now on foot is by right of Conquest, and the Kings resignation and grant, and the consent of the many : it is bad stuff that will take no colour ; what Conquest can a Subject make against a Sovereign, where the War is Insurrection, and the Victory high Treason ? King *Richards* resignation being in Prison, is an act of Exaction by force, and therefore of no force to bind him ; and by the Laws of this Realm, the King by himself cannot alienate the ancient Jewels and Ornaments of the Crown, much less give away his Crown and Kingdom. And custom we have none, for the Vulgar to Elect their King, but they are always tyde to accept of him, whom the right of Succession enables to the Crown, much less can they make good that Title, which is by violence Usurped ; for nothing can be said to be freely done, when Liberty is restrained by Fear : As for the deposing of *Edward* the Second, it is no more to be urged, than the poisoning of King *John*, or the murdering of a lawful Prince : We must live according to Laws, not examples, yet the Kingdom then was not taken from lawful Successors ; but if we look back to times past, we shall find that these Titles were more strong in King *Stephen*, than they are now in the Duke of *Lancaster* ; for King *Henry* the first being at Liberty, neither restrained, nor constrained, the people assented to this designment, and thereupon without fear or force he was anointed, and crowned King. Yet *Henry Fitzempresse*, having a nearer right to the Crown by his Mother ( notwithstanding his Father was a stranger, and he born beyond the Seas ) never ceased the prosecution of bloody Wars, to the great effusion of Blood, and spoiling the Country, until his lawful Inheritance was assured him. It terrifieth me but to think, how many flourishing Kingdoms have been by such contentions, ether rent by Intestine division, or subdued to forrain Princes, under pretence of assistance and aid. This Kingdom hath had too woful experience of these several mischiefs, and yet neither examples of other Countries, or miseries of our own, are sufficient to make us be wary. Certainly, I fear, it will be-tide us, as it did to *Esops* Frogs, who being desirous to have a King, had a beam given them, the first fall whereof affrighted them, but when they saw it lie still, they contemptuously insulted thereon, and desired a King of more active spirit ; then a Stork was sent them, which stalking amongst them, daily devoured them. King *Richards* mildness hath bred in us this scorn, interpreting it to be cowardise and dulness of nature ; I dare not say ( yet give me leave to suspect ) with greater courage, we may find greater cruelty. And thus have I declared my opinion, with more words, you may perhaps conjecture, than Wisdom ; yet fewer than the weight of the cause doth require : And I do resolutely conclude, that we have neither Power, nor Policy, either to Depose King *Richard*, or in his place to Elect Duke *Henry* ; that King *Richard* remaineth still our Sovereign-Lord, and therefore it is not lawful for us to give judgment against him ; that the Duke whom you are pleased to stile King, hath more transgressed the King and Realm, than *Richard* hath done either against him or us ; for he being



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committed.

Banished the Realm for ten years by the King and Council (amongst whom his own Father was chief) and given oath not to return without special License; he hath not only broken his oath, but disturbed the peace of the Land, dispossessed the King of his Royal Estate, and now demandeth judgement against his person; without offence proved, or defence heard; if this perjury, and this injury move not, yet let both our private and publick dangers somewhat withdraw us from these violent proceedings.

This speech was diversly taken, as Mens affections were diversly hurried, betwixt hope, fear, and shame; but the most part did seem to stand for Duke Henry. Whereupon the Bishop was attached by the Earl Marshal, and committed to the keeping of the Abbot of *Westminster*, but presently after to Prison in the Abby of Saint *Albanes*; his Counsel and conjecture then condemned, was after approved of (when too late) both in the Kings time, during whose Reign, no year passed without slaughter and executions, but more in the time succeeding, when within the space of thirty six years, twelve set Battels upon this quarrel were fought within the Realm by Natives only, and above fourscore Princes of the Blood Royal, fell by each others Sword.

It was concluded notwithstanding what the Bishop had spoken, that King *Richard* should be kept in a large Prison, with all manner of Princely maintenance; and if any should attempt to rere War for his deliverance, that he should be the first man should suffer for that attempt. The Acts of Parliament of the eleventh year of King *Richard* were revived, and those of the one and twentieth wholly repealed, and all in that Parliament attainted, were restored to their Titles and Inheritances, without suing Livery; and also to such goods whereof the King had not been answered, except the Rents and Issues of their Lands.

Hereupon *Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, is delivered out of prison, and the Earl of *Arundels* Son restored to his Inheritance; others also that stood Banished, or were in Prison, recovered their Liberty and Estate; it was Enacted, That none that came with *Henry* against *Richard*, should be impeached or troubled. To the Earl of *Westmerland*, the King gave the County of *Richmond*, to the Earl of *Northumberland* the *Isle of Man*, to hold of him by the service of bearing the Sword, wherewith he entred into this Kingdom before him. Divers others his followers he advanced to places of highest note, some for desert, but most to win their favour, and perhaps projecting a Plot for partakers, if times should change; for in many actions, Men take more care to prevent Revenge, than to lead an innocent Life.

Nobles degraded of their  
Titles.

It is likewise ordered, that the Plotters and procurers of the Duke of *Glocesters* murder should be strictly enquired after, and severely punished. And judgment was given against the Appellants of the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundell*, and that the Dukes of *Aumerles*, *Suffex*, and *Exeter*, the Marquess *Dorset*, and the Earl of *Glocester*, who were there present, should lose their Titles of Honour, and forfeit their Estate in all the Lands they had, which was formerly belonging to the Appellees; and that all their Letters Patents concerning the same, should be surrendred into the Chancery to be cancelled; and for their own Inheritance to be at the mercy of the King. That they should give no Liveries to retainers, nor keep more than should be necessary; that if any of them did adhear or assist the Deposed King *Richard*, against the Decree of his Deposition, that they should suffer as in high Treason: And for that, many of the common people did murmur:

That

That many the Officers had grievously extorted, either by connivency or secret support of the Lords; those Officers were removed, and the corruption purged. Then were Proclamations made, that if any Man had by strong hand been oppressed by any of the Lords, or by any under Officers to them, been wronged or abused, his complaint proved, the delinquent should give him plenary recompence.

The Execution of these Nobles was much questioned. The importunity of the People, and the persuasions of many great ones drew that way, but Policy was against it, especially the opinion of *Clemency*, which seemed needful in a new, not well settled Estate. In this Parliament the Lord *Fitzwater* appealed the Duke of *Aumerle* upon points of high Treason; the like did the Lord *Morley* to the Earl of *Salisbury*, and above twenty Appellants more gaged Battel, but the King purposing to lay the foundation of his Government by Favour, and not by Force, gave Pardon and Restitution alike to all, upon Security for their Allegiance; and moderately admonished, and as it were intreated the one part, that old griefs and grudges should not be renewed, but altogether buried; the other part he desired to be afterwards more circumspect of their actions; and for the time past rather to forget they ever were in fault, than to remember that they were pardoned: No punishment was inflicted on any, only the Earl of *Sarum* and the Lord *Morley*, who had been in especial Grace with King *Richard*. These two were committed, but at the Intercession of their Friends they were quickly released, the rest (but especially the Duke of *Aumerle*, and the Duke of *Exeter*, the Governour of *Callice*) he received freely to favour. *Aumerle* was Cousin German to both Kings. *Exeter* half Brother to King *Richard*, and Brother-in-law to King *Henry*, as having espoused his Sister, the Lady *Elizabeth*. The greatest crime they could enforce against them, was their being firm to King *Richard*, because they did not only stomach his dejection, but stir more than others, and essay to raise Forces on his behalf. The Dukes confessed the first accusation, affirming they were unfortunately faithful to King *Richard*; but as they that are once false, prove seldom after firmly sound, so they that have approved themselves true to one Prince, may be the better trusted by another. The King did rather admit this as a defence, than remit it as a fault, affirming that such examples were not not to be disliked of Princes, and did afterwards by courtesie and liberality, endeavour to make them firm and faithful unto him.

This fact was diversly interpreted, according to Mens several dispositions, some admiring the Kings moderation, others disallowing his confidence: And though these means have to that purpose prevailed with some, yet the common course may move us to conjecture, that there is small assurance to be had in reconciled Enemies, whose affections for the most part, are like to Glass, which being once crackt, will never be otherwise than crazed and ever unsound. During this time of Parliament held at *Westminster*, the Archbishop had convoked a Synod, which was held in *S. Pauls Church*, to whom the King sent the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland*, who declared to the Clergy, that they were not sent to them from the King to require any monies from them, but to acquaint them with the Kings resolution, which was to confirm all their Privileges and Immunities unto them, and to joyn with them as they should desire him, in the punishment of all Hereticks and opposites to their Religion received; for which so doing, he craved but their supplications to God for the safety of him and his posterity, and pro-

An. 1399.  
R. 1.  
Officers removed.



An. 1400.

R. 2.

Burbon solliciteth the Inhabitants of Guyan to revolt.

The Earl of Worcester sent to Guyan.

prosperity of the Kingdom, which was by all there present Religiously promised. Now to palliate all prejudice and hard opinion which other Princes might haply conceive of these his proceedings, he dispatched Embassadors to divers his bordering Neighbours, intimating to them respectively, both by what Title, and whose favour he had obtained the Kingdom: To *Rome* he sent the Bishop of *Hereford*, Sir *John Cheney* Knight, and *John Cheney* Esq; To *France*, the Bishop of *Durham*, and the Earl of *Worcester*; into *Spain*, the Bishop of *Saint Asaphs*, and Sir *William Par*; into *Almaine*, the Bishop of *Bangor*, and others; most of these Princes (as in a matter which little concerned them, either in point of honour or hatred, seemed to take no notice of what was done, or were easily persuaded, that all was done well. But *Charles* of *France* was so disquieted with this dishonorable dealing with his Son-in-law, that his passion, upon the first relation thereof, put him into his old fit of phrenzy, but recovered thereof, he provided for to revenge the injury. Many of the Nobility of *France* were forward, to set afoot this enterprize, but especially the Earl of *Saint Paul*, who had married King *Richards* half Sister; so that defiance is sent, and on both sides preparation for War is made. These novelties much animated the *Aquitains* (being under the *English* command) some were grieved at the infamous blemish of disloyalty, which was cast upon the Nation; others feared their being made a prey to the Tyranny of the French, against whom they had cause to suspect, that *England* being distracted by Civil Factions, either would not attend, or could not be able to bear them out; but the *Burdians* were principally perplexed with King *Richards* wrongs, because he was born and bred in their City. The Frenchmen generally were nothing displeased at this discontentment of the *Aquitains*, supposing that opportunity was now offered, to regain the possession of the Duchy of *Guian*, if either Power or Policy were seasonably applied. Hereupon *Lewis* Duke of *Burbon*, came down to *Angiers*, who from thence solicited the chief Towns of *Guian* by fair Speeches, and large promises, to change their Allegiance, but the Lieutenant there, Sir *Robert Knowles*, with all diligence and industry, laboured to suppress the mutinous, to stay the doubtful, to confirm the good, and to retain all in due obedience and order: But he prevailed very little, his Army being but weak, and the people stiff-necked; neither did *Burbon* much prevail, due consideration being had, how heavy the yoke of *France* was, above the subjection of the *English*, having been well acquainted with the Tributes, and Taxes, wherewith the Frenchmen were usually Taxed, who had in every Country assigned Lieutenants and Treasurers, the one to draw the Blood, the other the Substance of the slavish-made Subjects, whose cruelty and covetousness, laid hold, without exceptions, of all, the one tormenting by Force, the other by Law. Thus like a Ship that the Tide driveth one way, and the Wind another; betwixt obedience and revolt, stood the *Aquitains*, they were willing enough to displease the *English*, but most unwilling to indanger or undo themselves, by adhering to the French; upon advertisement whereof, the Earl of *Worcester*, with a Company of able and willing Soldiers, is sent into *Guyan*, who not by unseasonable exprobrating their fault, but by reason convincing it, partly by his Wisdom and Credit, and partly by his Authority and Power, so terrified the wavering multitude, that he won them to his Opinion, and kept their Allegiance; the graver sort with respect of Duty and Faith, the rest with regard of Fear and Danger. Then he took their Oaths for Obedience unto King *Henry*, and planted Garrisons in places

of

of import without molestation, if they remained dutiful; and yet of force sufficient to keep them under, if they should attempt to rebel; and then returned to *England*, there shewing a fair example of moderation, in seeming rather to have found than made the *Aquitains* dutiful Subjects. This stir no sooner stinted, when another more desperately dangerous did arise; for divers who had dissembled, or did repent the furtherance they had used to the advancement of King *Henry*, conspired to compass his destruction, whether for favour to King *Richard* (as the nature of Man is to behold sudden miseries with the Eyes of pity) or for envy to King *Henry*, as commonly we can endure excessive fortune no where so little, as in those that have been in equal degrees with our selves; or whether upon distaste received in the late Parliament, or in disdain, to see others go before them in the Princes favour, it is uncertain; many sought to revenge their unjust anger with revolting.

An. 1400.  
R. 2.

There was in those times an Abbot of *Westminster* that employed his Studies, not as others, to cloak their idleness and sloth under pretext of Religion, making a seeming shew of Sanctity, and a solid practice of Gain and Promotion, but to enable himself for Counsel and Direction in publick Affairs, who for the general opinion of his Wisdom and Integrity, was in good credit with King *Richard*, and had accompanied him in his last expedition into *Ireland*. This Abbot calling to mind a Speech of King *Henries*, when he was but Earl of *Derby*, That Princes had too little, and religious Men too much, knowing the saying to be too true; for at that time the riches of the Clergy was grown so great, that they were beheld by the Eyes of envy; and withal observing the general passages in those times tended to the abridging of the regular Power, wherein, lest Avarice should appear open faced, Policy was pretended, and the excess thought dangerous, both to the King and Clergy, as likely to cause want in the one, and wantonness in the other; and that thereupon in Parliament divers Bills were formerly put up in King *Richards* time, to repress the increase of religious Possessions, and that inquisition, and redress might be had against such of the Clergy, as under license to purchase ten pounds, did purchase forty and more *per annum*; and against such Ecclesiastical Persons, as caused their Villains to marry free Women inheritable, whereby their Lands might come to those Religious Persons possession; and that it was there likewise moved, that the King should seize into his Hands, all Temporal Livings of Religious Houses, as being rather a burden, than benefit to Religion. And that upon these, and such like Petitions, the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, in behalf of the Clergy of their Provinces, were often-times enforced to make their solemn Protestations in Parliament; that if any thing were attempted, in restraint of the Liberty of the Church, they would in no wise assent, but utterly disclaim the same; which Protestations were respectively enrolled: So that now, partly upon love to King *Richard*, and partly upon fear, lest King *Henry* would be as ready to invade, as he was to inveigh against the riches of the Church. This Abbot blew the first Coals, and brought fewel to the fire of this Confederacy; he invited to his House, upon a solemn Feast day in *Michaelmas* Term, those that he had sounded to be most sound to his purpose: The chief of which were such as in the Parliament before had in some sort been touched in Reputation, although by Pardon and Reconciliation, the harm did seem to be closed up: Their Names were *John Holland* Duke of *Exeter*, *Thomas Holland* his Brothers Son, Duke of *Surry*;

The Abbot of  
*Westminsters*  
proceedings.



An. 1400.  
R. 2.

The Duke of  
Exeter's per-  
suasions to re-  
bel.

*Surry; Edward, Duke of Anierle; John Montacute, Earl of Sarum; Hugh Spencer, Earl of Gloucester; John, Bishop of Carlisle; Sir Thomas Blunt, and Magdalen, one of King Richard's Chaplains, who in feature and favour, so resembled King Richard, that he was afterwards affirmed to be him indeed.*

After Dinner they withdrew themselves into a private Chamber to Council, where the Duke of *Exeter* (who was mainly bent to restore or revenge the cause of his deposed Brother) declared to the rest, the Allegiance they had sworn to King *Richard*, the honours and preferments whereunto they were by him advanced: That they were therefore bound both in Conscience by the one, and kindness by the other, to take his part against all Men: That King *Henry*, contrary to both, had dispoiled him of his Royal Dignity, and unjustly possessed himself thereof, whilst they stood looking on, and shewed neither the obedience of Subjects, nor love of Friends: That King *Henry* by violent invading, fraudulently insinuating himself into the Kingdom of his sole Sovereign, was but a Tyrant and an Usurper, and such an one, as it was lawful for any one, at any time, by any means to throw down, without respect whether he be good or evil; for it is lawful for no Man, under the pretence and shew of goodness, to draw Sovereignty to himself; that the examples of best governed Common-wealths, did not only permit this action, but highly honored the Actor with Statues and Garlands, and also rewarded them with Titles of Nobility, and all the wealth of the suppressed Tyrant: and lest he could not esteem King *Henry*.

That this Enterprize, would be very profitable to the Republick, by extinguishing those Wars that the *Scots* menaced, the *French* prepared for, and the *Welshmen* had already begun upon this quarrel. That he did not distrust, but it might be accomplished by open hostility; but he thought it more sure for him, and safe for the Common-wealth, to put first in practice some secret Policy: And to that purpose it was proposed and approved, that a solemn Jufts should be notified to be kept at *Oxford* in *Christmas* Holy-days, between him and twenty more on his part, and the Earl of *Salisbury* and twenty more on his part, to which King *Henry* should be invited; and when he was therein observed to be most intente, he should suddenly be surprized by such, which without suspicion might at that time be assembled, both for number and preparation sufficient for the exploit: and thereby King *Richard* presently restored to Liberty and State.

The Conspi-  
rators Plot.

This device was at once uttered and approved, and so resolving on the enterprize, they took a solemn Oath of Faith and Secrecy, to the hour of Death, each to other; and an Indenture Sextipartite was likewise made betwixt the Lords, wherein they bound themselves respectively each to other, to do the best of their Devoin, for the destruction of the one, and delivery of the other King; which was interchangeably subscribed, sealed, and delivered: They likewise concluded, what Forces should be gathered, where and by whom they should be ordered and placed, and to whose trust the execution of this exploit should be committed.

In pursuance hereof, the Duke of *Exeter* came to the King at *Windfor*, and desired that he would vouchsafe to honour with his Presence, the Martial exercise that was intended betwixt him and the Earl of *Sarum* at *Oxford*; and be pleased to be Judge of their performance, if any controversie should arise. The King persuading himself, that that was really intended, which was so formally pretended, easily yielded to his request; where-  
upon,

upon the Duke with the rest of the Confederates did disperse themselves, and according to direction made their preparations, and furnished themselves with all things necessary for the accomplishment of their Plot; and at the time agreed upon, addressed themselves to *Oxford*, well accompanied with Horse and Foot, where they all meet except the Duke of *Aumerle*.

The King hearing of their departure, determined the day following to follow, according to promise and appointment: The Duke of *Aumerle*'s absence gave just cause of doubt to the rest of his Complices, and to be ascertained of the cause of his stay, they send a Post unto him, but before his arrival the Duke was departed from his House towards *Oxford*, but by the way went to visit his Father, the Duke of *Tork*. As they sat at Dinner, his Father espied a label of one of the sextipartite Indentures hanging out of his bosom, and demanded what it was; the Son humbly craved pardon, and said, it was nothing that any way concerned him; the young Dukes change of countenance argued some guilt, which bred some suspicion in *Tork*, and thereupon swore and said, By saint *George*, but I will see it; and then whether upon precedent jealousy, or some present cause to doubt of some strange stratagem, it is uncertain, but he took it away from him by Force; the Contents whereof when he had perceived, with a fierce Countenance and Speech, he said, I see *Traitour*, that idleness hath made thee so mutinous, that thou playest with thy Faith as Children with sticks: Thou hast already once been Faithless to King *Richard*, and turnst thou false again now to King *Henry*? Thou knowest in open Parliament I became bound, Body and Goods for thy Allegiance, and can neither thy own Duty, nor my Desert, restrain thee from seeking both our Destructions? In Faith, but I will rather help forward thine; and calling to make ready his Horse, he prepared to Post to the King. It was no time now for the Duke to consult with his Friends, or to consider with himself, what was best to be done, but takes Horse and Posts towards *Windsor* another way, and was gotten thither before his Father, and pretending some strange and sudden occasion, caused the Gates of the Castle to be locked: and alleging some cause so to do, taketh the Keys thereof with him to the King: in whose presence when he came, he prostrates upon the ground, beseecheth the King of mercy and forgiveness; the King no sooner demanded the Offence, when he with disturbed Countenance and Speech, discovered to the King all the Plot, and the Names of the Conspirators.

The King neither seemed rashly to believe, nor negligently to distrust the Dukes relation, and with policy it stood not to entertain the Discovery, with harsh and violent terms. Therefore with gracious Speeches he comforted the Duke; And if this be true, said he, We pardon you, if feined, be it at your peril. By this time the Duke of *Tork* is arrived, and admitted into the Kings presence, to whom he delivered the Counterpane of the Confederacy; which when the King had read, he complained of the unconstant disposition of those Men, whom neither cruelty could make firm to King *Richard*, nor clemency to him, but upon dislike of every present Government, were desirous of any change. Whereupon he deferred his journey, and determined to attend at *Windsor*, what course the Conspirators would take: knowing right well, that in Civil Tumults, an advised Patience, and Opportunity well taken, are the only Weapons of advantage: and that it is an especial point of Policy, to make use of an adversaries oversight; in the meantime, he directs his Letters to the Earl of *Northumberland* his high Constable, and the Earl of *Cumberland* his high Marshal, and to other his Friends,

An. 1400.

R. 2.

The Duke of  
*Tork*'s Speech  
to his Son.

The Duke of  
*Aumerle* dis-  
covereth the  
Conspiracy.



An. 1400.  
R. 2.

The King lea-  
veth Windsor.

Friends, of these sudden and unexpected accidents. All this time the Confederates hearing nothing of *Aumerle*, and seeing no preparation for the Kings coming, were resolved that their conspiracy was discovered, and calling to mind, that once before they had been pardoned the guilt of this their Rebellion, excluded all hope of further mercy; whereupon they desperately resolved, to prosecute that by open Arms, wherein their privy practises had failed; first, they apparelled *Magdalen* in Princely attire, and gave forth that he was King *Richard*, who by favour or negligence of his Keepers, was escaped out of Prison, and now implored the faith and aid of his loving Subjects. Then they dispatched Messengers to *Charles* King of *France*, desiring his assistance in behalf of his Son-in-law. The common people commonly changeable, as prone to pity, as afore they were too forward in cruelty, earnestly wished the enlargement of King *Richard*, and wishing it, were easily drawn to believe it; in which imaginary conceit, the presence of *Magdalen* did strongly confirm them; and so either upon ignorance of truth, or delight in trouble, they joyned themselves in great Troops to the Lords, desiring nothing more, than to be a means by which *Richard* might be restored. Then the Conspirators with great Force, but with greater Fame, as the manner is of matters unknown, advanced forward in battail array towards *Windsor* against King *Henry*, as against an Enemy to the State, they being forty thousand strong; upon notice of their approach, the King secretly with a small train, the next *Sunday*-night after New-years day, departed from *Windsor* Castle to the Tower of *London*, and the same night before day the Conspirators came to the Castle, where missing their expected prey, they were divided in opinions, which way to take, some advised speedily to follow to *London*, and not to permit him liberty to unite his Forces; that Winter could not properly be called a let, but in idle and peaceable times; that in civil dissentions, nothing is so safe as speed, and advantage increaseth more by dispatching than deferring; that whilst some were in fear, some in doubt, and others suspiciously ignorant, the City (nay the whole Realm) might be possessed, and that many Armies whose fury at first rush, could not be resisted, by delays did dissipate and waste to nothing.

The Mayor of  
London fur-  
nisheth King  
Henry with  
Archers.

Others that would seem to be, but were not, out of a dastardly disposition, persuaded rather first to set King *Richard* at liberty, for if their counterfeiting should be discovered, before they had really his person in possession, the people would fall from them, which would be to their utter confusion. By their persuasion they gave over the pursuit, and retired to *Calbrook*, and there delayed the time of action in deliberation, neither being courageously quick, nor considerably stayed, but subject to vacillation: and thereby began every day more than other to be vilipended, decreasing both in opinion, power and hope. The Mayor of *London* is commanded by the King, to levy power in Arms for his assistance, who presently furnished him with three thousand Archers; besides a sufficient guard left for and in the City. Thus assisted, the King with twenty thousand able Souldiers from *London*, came to *Hounslow*-Heath, there staying, braved his Enemies, and contemning their disorderly multitude; but the Enemies, either for fear of their Kings power, or distrust of their own, or lingring until their expected aid was come out of *France*, refused to joyn. And it is questionable, whether they shewed greater courage in setting up the danger, or cowardise in declining it, when it was presented unto them; from thence they went to *Swallow* near *Reading*, where Queen *Isabel* lay: to whom upon the plain song afore said, fame

same had descanted, that King *Richard* was at *Pomfret* with an hundred thousand men well appointed; and that for fear of him, King *Henry* with his was fled to the Tower of *London*. All which was as lightly believed, as it was idly told. Whereupon she defaced King *Henry's* Arms, and plucked away his Cognizance from those, that as his servants attended upon her; and having therewith somewhat eased her swoln heart, she with the Lords departed to *Wallingford*, and from thence to *Abington*, stirring up by the way the people, to take Arms in aid of King *Richard*. At length they came to *Ci-cester* and there took up their lodgings. The Duke of *Surry*, and the Earl of *Salisbury* in one Inn; the Duke of *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Glocester* in another Inn; the Army encamped in the fields. The Bayliff of the Town suspecting what was true, that these guests were no good Subjects, besets the house where the Duke of *Surry* lay, who with his Retinue grown desperately bold, made strong defence against the assaylants. The Duke of *Exeter* and his Company, had not force enough to rescue their Companions. Whereupon a Priest of their consort, supposing thereby to divert the Townsmen from the assault, set divers houses on fire; but the fire more inflamed the Townsmens fury, and made them insist more obstinately in the attempt, swearing not to rescue their losses, but revenge them; and quench the flames with the Traytors blood. The Earl of *Exeter*, and they that were with him, perceiving the force of the assaylants to increase, and that it was impossible for so few to sustain the fury of so many obstinately bent, they fled out of the back side towards the Camp, intending to bring the Army to the rescue. But the Souldiers having heard the alarum, and seeing the fire within the Town, supposing the King was entred with his Forces, were struck with a sudden and causeless fear, and wanting Commanders of courage to confirm them, they disbanded and fled; and whilst every one sought to save one, they brought themselves and all to confusion.

The Duke of *Surry* and his company manfully maintained the fight, with great bloodshed on all sides, from midnight until three of the clock the next after-noon, and then being inferiour in number and fortune, the Duke and the Earl of *Salisbury* were both wounded to death, and taken, and that evening dying, their heads were strook off and sent to the King to *London*. There were then taken prisoners, Sir *Bennet Sherley*, Sir *Bernard Brookes*, Sir *Thomas Blount*, and twenty eight Lords, and men of note, who were afterwards upon King *Henry's* coming to *Oxford* sent thither unto him, and there executed. The Duke of *Exeter*, with Sir *John Sherley* fled into *Essex*, from whence many times they attempted to have escaped to *France*, but by contrary winds were driven back again, and then lurking in secret places, the Duke was taken and lead to *Plashey*, and there beheaded. There wanted not some in those times that made conjectures, that now the Duke of *Glocesters* death, was brought to be reckoned for, who by *Exeters* counsel and contrivance, in the same place had been wrongfully apprehended. An example for those which square out their actions by the crooked line of their pleasure, or power, to other mens disprofit or disparagement; but punishment of such impiety, though it be prolonged, doth never fail, but cometh at length, and then surely, though perhaps slowly. This Duke of *Exeter* was a man of high Parentage, great power, and honourable Alliance, Created Earl of *Huntington* in the eleventh year of King *Richard* now deposed: in the one and twentieth he was Created Duke of *Exeter*, and upon the resignation of the place, and release of the right thereto, by

*Aubrey*

An. 1400.  
R. 2.

Queen *Isabel's*  
womanish  
courage.

The Inhabi-  
rants of *Cice-*  
*ster* assault the  
Conspirators.



An. 1400.

R. 2.

*Aubrey de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, was made that year Lord Chamberlain of *England*, and married *Elizabeth* the Daughter of *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, and *Blaunch* his wife; by whom he had issue, *Richard* that died young, *John* afterwards Duke of *Exeter*, and Earl of *Huntington*; *Edward* that died without issue, and a Daughter named *Constance*, first married to *Thomas Mowbray*, Son and Heir of *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, and after to *John* Lord *Gray* of *Ruthyn*.

He was popular, and openly praise-worthy, but his secret actions were hardly censured; he was partaker of all his brothers vices, and of counsel to many of them, yet somewhat more circumspect and close, and not so much partaker of his prosperity, as violently carried with the torrent of his misery.

*Thomas Spencer* Earl of *Glocester* fled towards *Wales*, but in the way was taken and beheaded at *Bristol*; he married *Constance*, Daughter of *Edmond* of *Langly* Duke of *York*, and had issue, *Richard* that died young, *Elizabeth* died young, and *Isabel* who was born seven months after her Fathers death, and was first married to *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Worcester*, by whom she had issue, *Elizabeth*; but her second husband was *Richard Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick* (cousin-german to her first husband) by whom she had issue, *Henry*, afterwards Earl of *Warwick*.

The counterfeit of King *Richard* flying into *Scotland*, was apprehended, committed to the Tower, and from thence drawn, and hanged, and quartered, and one *Ferby*, another of King *Richards* Chaplains, with him: divers others of all sorts, Lords and Gentlemen, with a great number of common Souldiers, were in other places put to death, insomuch, that the King, though otherwise of a moderate and peaceable disposition, seemed in this too too vindicative of his own injury, or rather in maintaining the injury that he had done.

The heads of the chief Conspirators were pitched upon poles, and set over *London-bridge*; lamentable spectacles of heads and quarters of unfortunate dismembred wretches, were visible in many parts of this Realm, putrifying above ground, not all for desert, but many to satisfy either the malice, or want of King *Henries* friends; Insomuch, that some of those of deepest apprehension, openly gave forth, That in short time there would be just cause to wish King *Richard* again, as being more tolerable, to endure the cruelty of one, than of many; and to live where nothing, than where any thing might be permitted, was most safe.

The Abbot of *Westminster*, in whose house and head this Conspiracy took life and light, hearing of these disasters, going from his Monastery Grange near *Westminster*, was taken with a dead Palsie, and suddenly died speechless. And although in this enterprise, accident gave policy the check, and by a strange fortune, which wisdom could not prevent, overturned the project; yet it is apparent, that this Abbot first moved the stone, that rowling along, was likely to turn King *Henry* out of his chair. The Bishop of *Carlisle* was condemned for his treason, but the extremity of his passion, closed up his dayes, and prevented the violence and shame of publique execution. King *Richard* as afore having abdicated his Regality, did but a short time enjoy that sweet security, wherewith he so flattered himself; For first his goods, which he had given in satisfaction of the wrongs by him done, were shared amongst his enemies, and he removed first to the Tower of *London*, and then from thence to the Castle of *Leeds* in *Kent*, and from thence to *Pomfret*, where being kept in straight prison, innocent and ignorant of this offence,

offence, was notwithstanding made a partner in the punishment; for King *Henry* observing how far the Lords might have prevailed with their late stratagem, for if their stomachs had been but answerable to their strength, and their bold beginning had not ended in faintness and sloth, they might have driven him to an hard hazard; he caused King *Richard* to be put to death, thereby to make sure, that no man should cloak open Rebellion, under the colour of following sides; nor countenance his conspiracy, either with the Person or Name of King *Richard*: But whether he did expressly command his death or no, it is a question; but out of question he shewed some liking and desire to the action, and gave approvement thereto when it was done.

An. 1401.  
R. 3.

The report went that King *Richard* was Princely served every day with abundance of costly dishes, but was not suffered to touch or taste one of them, and so perished with famine. I persuade my self this is meerly fabulous, for such barbarous and unnatural cruelty against a King and a kinsman, is not likely to proceed from King *Henry* a Christian; but it is more probable, which a Writer about those times affirmeth, That King *Henry* sitting at his Table sad and pensive, after a deep sigh, said, Have I never a faithful friend that will rid me of him, whose life will breed destruction to me and disquiet to the Realm, and whose death will be a means of safety and quiet to both? And how can I be freed from fear, so long as the cause of my danger doth continue? What security, what hope shall we have of peace, unless the root of rebellion be plucked up? A Knight, called Sir *Pierce* of *Exton*, hearing this, with eight of his followers posteth to *Pomphret*, and pretending Warrant from the King, had entrance into the Castle, where he commanded the Esquire who sewed to King *Richard*, to surcease his service; whereupon, when King *Richard*, being set at Table, saw that he was not served as afore with assay, and demanded of the Esquire the reason of this his neglect of duty therein; he was answered, That Sir *Pierce* had brought such order from King *Henry*, coming lately from the Court: *Richard* moved with this act and answer, said, The Devil take thee, and *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*; with that Sir *Pierce*, with his retinue before him, entred into the Chamber, and locked the Door after them; whereupon King *Richard* spying their drift, and suspecting his own danger, stepped couragiously to the first Man, and wresting the Halbert out of his Hands, therewith slew four of his mischievous assailants, and with admirable resolution fought with the other, until coming by the chair where the King used to sit, in which the cowardly Knight himself was got for his own safety, he was by him stricken with a Pole-ax on the hinder part of the Head, who being at the point of death, groaned forth these words; *Edward* the Second, my great Grandfather, was in this manner Deposed, Imprisoned, and Murthered, whereby my Grandfather *Edward* the Third, obtained the Crown, and now is this punishment fallen upon me his next Successor. This is right for me to suffer, but not for you to do. Your King may for a time joy at my death, and enjoy his desire, but let him qualifie his pleasure with expectation of the like justice; for God, who measureth all our actions by the malice of our minds, will not suffer this violence to pass unrevenged. Whether these words did proceed from a distempered desire, or from the judgment of his fore-sight, they were not altogether idle. Sir *Pierce* expecting great rewards for his ungracious service, was frustrate of both; and not only missed that countenance for which he hoped, but lost that which before he had; so odious are crying sins, even to him for whom they were committed. Hereupon at first he grew dis-



An. 1401.

R. 3.

discontented, and afterwards tormented in Conscience, and in a rage would often exclaim, That to pleasure one ungrateful person, he had made both himself and posterity infamous and odious to all the World. King *Henry*, with disquiet held the Kingdom during his life, and so did his Son, King *Henry* the Fifth, in whose time, by continual War with *France*, the malice of the humour was otherwise exercised and spent. But his second Successor, King *Henry* the Sixth, was dispossessed thereof, and together with his young Son Prince *Henry*, imprisoned and put to death, either by command or connivance of *Edward* the Fourth; and he also escaped not free, for he died not without many and manifest suspicions of poyson: And after his death his two Sons were disinherited, imprisoned and butchered by the Usurper, the Duke of *Glocester*, who was slain at *Bosworth* Field, and so in his Person (having no Issue) the Tragedy ended. These are excellent examples, both to comfort them that are Oppressed, and of Terror to violent Oppressors; that God in his secret judgment doth not always so certainly provide for our safety, as revenge our wrongs and oppressions; and that all our unjust actions have a day of payment, and many times, by way of retaliation, even in the same manner and measure they were committed.

Thus, as most of the chief Writers do agree, was King *Richard* by violence brought to his end, although all Historians agree not of the manner of the violence. He was a Man of personage rather well proportioned than tall, of graceful and comely presence, of good strength, and no abject Spirit; but the one by ease, the other by flattery, were much abused and abased; he deserved many Friends, but found but few, because he bought them by his bounty, not sought them by vertuous behaviour; he was unfortunate in all his actions, which may be imputed to his slothful carelessness; for he that is not provident, can seldom prosper; for his looseness will lose whatsoever fortune or other Mens labours do cast upon him: He lived three and thirty years, and reigned two and twenty. In his younger years he was too much ruled by green Heads, little regarding the counsel of the grave and judicious Councillors, which turned to the disquiet of the Realm, and his own destruction. He married two Wives, the first was *Anne*, the Daughter of *Charles* the Fourth, and Sister of *Winceslaus* King of *Bohemia*; he was Crowned Queen the twenty second of *January*, 1384. but died without Issue: The second Wife was *Isabel*, Daughter of *Charles*, the Sixth King of *France*, an Infant of seven years of age, who after his death was returned into *France*, but without Dower, because the Marriage was never consummate for want of Copulation: The Lord *Henry* *Piercy* had the conveying of her over, in *Anno* 1401. His dead body was embalmed and ceared, and covered with Lead, all save the Face, and carried to *London*, where he had a solemn Obsequy kept in the Church of *St. Paul*, the King being present, and the chief Companies of the City: From thence he was conveyed to *Langley* Abby in *Buckinghamshire*, and there obscurely interred by the Bishop of *Chester*, the Abbots of *Saint Albanes* and *Waltham*, without presence of the Nobility, or confluence of the Commons, and without the expence of a dinner after the celebrating of the Funeral. But *Henry* the Fifth caused his Body to be taken up, and removed to *Westminster*, and there interred amongst the Ancestors, with Queen *Anne* his first Wife, in expiation of his Fathers violent and unfaithful dealing. It was not amiss, in regard of the Commonwealth, that he was dead; yet they who were actors in his death, had small reason to reckon it among their good deeds. These accidents attend such

Princes

Princes, as being absolute in power, will be too resolute in Will, and dis-  
 solute in life. An. 1401.  
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*Humphrey*, the Son and Heir of the Duke of *Glocester*, in his return out of *Ireland*, where King *Richard* had left him prisoner, died of the Plague at *Chester*, the news whereof kill'd the Duchess his Mother. About this time died *Thomas Mowbray* the exiled Duke of *Norfolk*, who had out-lived his honour: he married two wives, both named *Elizabeth*; the first the Daughter of the Lord *Strange*, who died without issue; the second, Sister and Co-heir of *Thomas Fitzallain*, Earl of *Arundel*, by whom he had issue, *Thomas* and *John*, *Margaret* and *Isabel*. In this year also deceased *John*, Duke of *Britain*, who had taken to Wife *Mary* Daughter to King *Edward* the Third, but by her he had no Issue. Also this year died *Edmond*, Duke of *York*, surnamed of *Langley*, the first Son of *Edward* the Third; his reputation he kept unblemished, and honour untainted; he was not careless of good fame, nor greedy of greatness; wary and circumspect in his behaviour; not desirous of other Mens wealth, nor too parcimonious of his own; he did not by obstinate opposing himself against the torrent of the time, rashly hazard his fame or fall; but by moderation attained safely that degree of praise, which others aspiring unto, by desperate courses won an ambitious death, without further profit: He married two Wives, the first was *Isabel*, second Daughter and Co-heir of *Peter* King of *Castile*, by whom he had issue *Edward* Duke of *Albemarle*, *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, and *Constance* first married to *Thomas Spencer* Earl of *Glocester*, and afterwards to *Thomas Holland* Earl of *Kent*: his second Wife was *Joane*, Daughter of *Thomas Holland* Earl of *Kent*, and Sister and Co-heir of *Edmond* Earl of *Kent*, but by her had no issue. fifth

King *Charles*, though *Lucidus per inter-valla*, yet sensible of dishonour, moved with his Daughters disgrace, made preparation to invade *England*, and brought down his Army into *Picardy*; but upon the certain relation of King *Richard*'s death, he gave over the enterprise, and sent over Embassadors into *England*, to treat, or rather intreat, that his Daughter, with her Dowry, might be restored to him again. King *Henry* gave them audience and answer, that he would speed Commissioners to *Callice*, to commune and conclude with them, both of this and other weighty affairs concerning both the Realms; whither he sent *Edward*, Duke of *York*, and *Henry*, Earl of *Northumberland*. The French King sent the Duke of *Burbon*, and certain others, to *Bulloigne*. These Commissioners often met, sometimes at one place, sometimes at the other. The Frenchmen instantly required their Kings Daughter to be restored, without the doing whereof they had no order to treat of any thing. The Englishmen made a proffer to have a match betwixt Prince *Henry* and the Lady; alleging, that there was no disparagement of birth, nor disparity of years betwixt them; but thereto they would give no consent, neither would they agree to the Proposition of a perpetual amity: But in the end it was concluded, that Queen *Isabel* should be re-delivered to her Father, but sans Dowry, because the marriage betwixt her and King *Richard* was never consummate, by reason whereof she was not Dowable upon the Treaty of the marriage: The surcease from Arms was agreed upon in King *Richard*'s days, for thirty years, which was now mutually confirmed for the term of these years unexpired.

Shortly after King *Henry* sent the Lady *Isabella*, under the conduct of *Thomas* Lord *Piercy*, Earl of *Worcester*, in Royal State to *Callice*, being accom-

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panied with a brave Troop of honorable Personages of both sexes; she carried with her all the Jewels and Plate which she brought into *England*, with a great surplussage of rich gifts bestowed upon her by the King. At *Callice* she was received by *Valerian* Earl of *Saint Paul*, Lieutenant in *Picardy*, and by him conducted to her Father, who afterwards gave her in marriage to *Charles*, Son to *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*; and so was rest, or rather respite of War in *France* procured.

But the fire and fury of the late sedition was hardly quenched, when the Welshmen upon advantage of the doubtful and unsettled estate of King *Henry*, brake forth into a defection, before the King could either lay the ground-work of his Authority, or the people frame themselves to a new obedience; and having been taught, that common causes must be maintained by concord, they sought by Assemblies to establish an Association, and to set up their own principality again: they Created for their Prince *Owen Glendour*, a fellow of a turbulent spirit, and factious disposition, and apt to stir up sedition and strife; and though he was of no great Estate by birth, he was stout in stomach, of an aspiring spirit, and wit somewhat above the ordinary rank of those untrained people; bold, crafty, agile, and as he list to bend his mind, mischievous or industrious in equal degree; in desires immoderate, and rashly adventurous; more desirous to do, than circumspect what to do; in his younger years he was a Student at the Inns of Court at *London*, and being incensed by a verdict given against him for title of Land betwixt him and the Lord *Gray* of *Ruthin*; and, by nature, being a Man not of the mildest disposition, by this provocation he was made savage and rough, and determined either to repair or revenge his loss, by setting the whole State on fire. Also his expences had been too excessive for a great Man to continue, which brought him to bareness, too base for a mean Man to endure, and therefore he was necessitated to do or dare something more than ordinary; and more danger he thought there was in orderly dealing, than in hazarding rashly: and now opportunity is presented; for troublesome times are most fit for such attempts. And some likelihood there was, whilst the King and his Nobles were at variance, that harm might be easily wrought to them both: upon these causes his desires were founded, and upon these troubles his hopes. But that his ambitious humor might bear some pretext of honest meaning, he pretended to his Countrymen the recovery of their freedom, the desire whereof is so naturally pleasing, that birds will rather live hardly abroad in the cold fields, than be daintily dieted in a warm cage; and that now occasion was fitly offered, or else never to be expected to rid them of their servility (falsly entituled peace) whilst the Kings power was waning, and the other not yet fully waxen, either being growing weak by wasting each other; neither was there any odds which did prevail, since the War touched both alike; insomuch that War would ruin the one, and victory the other: and like the Vulture sitting on the Tree, whilst the Bear and Lion fought, they need not fear prey if either fell.

Thus he exhorted them to take Courage and Arms. And for the introduction, to kill all the English within their Territories, for Liberty and Lords were incompatible: then to resume their ancient Laws and Customs, whereby, more than by Arms, Common-wealths are confirmed and continued, established and enlarged; so should they be a Nation uncorrupt, without commixture of forrein Manners or Blood, and so forgetting servitude, they might either live at liberty, or be Lords over others. Upon this many flocked

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flocked unto him, the better sort for love of liberty, other in hope of booty, insomuch that in short time he had under his command a competent Army wherewith to take the field, and to make some proof of his Souldiers resolution, he set upon his old adversary the Lord Gray, slew many of his men, and took him prisoner, yet promised him releasment, if he would take his daughter to wife. But the Lord at first did not so much refuse, as scorn the offer, saying, He was too old to be a Ward, to have his marriage obtruded upon him: Well, quoth Owen, though you be not my Ward, yet you are in my Ward, and your *Ouster le maine* shall cost you double the marriage money you shall procure elsewhere. The Lord Gray seeing no other means of his deliverance, at length accepted the condition, and took the Damosel to wife, yet his death preceded his enlargement.

The Welshmen proceed, and break into the borders of Hereford-shire, doing much spoil therein, against whom Edmond Mortimer Earl of March, (withdrawn for his quiet to Wigmore Castle) with the Gentlemen of the Countrey to him assembled, did draw head, between whom was a cruel conflict, not in form of a loose skirmish, but making a main stand, they endeavoured by might and main to break and bear down each other. The courage and resolution on both sides was equal, but the Welsh exceeded in number and direction; for they were commanded by one known Leader, who with his presence every where assisted at need, inciting his Souldiers, some with shame and reproof, others with praise and encouragement, all with hope and large promises: But the English had no certain General, but many confused Commanders; yea, every man was a Commander to himself, pressing on, or drawing back, as courage or fear did move; insomuch that they had taken a great blow that day, by ill-governed boldness, had not Glendour upon their beginning to rout, ceased to pursue the execution, shewing himself more able to get the victory, than skilful to use it: But his men being most wounded, all weary, the night approaching, and being in his enemies Country, may in good judgments quit him from that aspersiō. The night befriended the English with liberty to retire, without running away, no man appearing to follow the chase. They lost about a thousand men, who sold their lives at such a rate, that when manhood had done the worst against them, some mannish, or rather devillish women, whose rage and malice are implacable, and immortal, exercised a vain, but barbarous revenge upon their dead bodies; first by stripping them, then cutting off their privy parts and noses, the one they stuffed into their mouths, and pressed the other between their buttocks, yet would not suffer their carkasses, thus mangled, to be buried, until they were ransomed by a sum of money; by which unheard-of cruel covetousness, the faction lost reputation and credit with the moderate sort of their own people, who had treason to suspect, that it was not liberty but licentiousness which was desired; and that subjection to such inhuman minds, would be more insupportable than any bondage.

In this conflict the Earl of March was taken prisoner, and kept close in a dark dungeon, which was cold and dampish, where he was overburdened, with daily wants, and much misery, which were with the greater extremity, and in more abundance inflicted upon him, that thereby King Henry his Kinsman should be the sooner perswaded to redeem and ransom him; he was earnestly solicited by many of the Nobility, but principally by his Kinsmen the Pierciers, for to procure this enlargement; but the King would not hear



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of that ear, he could have been well contented that his Sisters had been with him there, or that all three were in heaven; for then the only blemish of his Title had been covered over: so that it appeared thereby, that he more desired his destruction, than to procure his deliverance.

*Glendour*, by his prosperous success, was grown now more hard to be dealt withal: proceeding further to invade the Marches on the West side of *Severne*, where he burnt many Towns, and slew much people, and returned with prey, and praises of his adherents where ever he came; for he found that weak resistance, that he seemed rather to exercise a spoil, than maintain a War; King *Henry* being then detained with his chiefest forces, in another more dangerous service, which besides these former vexations and hazards, this first year of his Reign had hapned unto him: For the Scots knowing that changes of Princes Reigns was a time most apt for depredations, attempts, (taking advantage of the absence of all the chief English borderers, partly by occasion of the Parliament, and partly by reason of the Pestilence which was that year very hot in the North parts of the Kingdom) they made a road into the County of *Northumberland*, and there did much harm; they surprized the Castle of *Warke* (the Captain whereof, Sir *Thomas Gray*, was one of the Knights of the Shire for that Parliament) which they held a while, and then plundered and dismantled it, and departed; in requital whereof, the English invaded, burnt and spoiled certain Islands of *Orkney*, whereupon the Scots set forth a fleet under the conduct of Sir *Robert Logon*, with direction to attempt, as occasion should be offered. He purposed to have begun upon our Fishermen, but by the way he was encountered by certain ships of *Linne*, and the greatest part of his Fleet was sunk or taken. Thus though peace continued still between both the Realms, yet a kind of theevish hostility was daily practised, which after brake forth in open War, upon this occasion.

*George* of *Dunbar*, Earl of the Marches of *Scotland*, had affianced *Elizabeth* his daughter, to *David* the Son and Heir apparent of *Robert* King of Scots, and in consideration of marriage shortly to be celebrated, he had delivered into the Kings hands a great sum of money for his daughters Portion: But *Archibald* Earl of *Dowglas*, disdaining that *Dunbars* blood should be preferred before his, so wrought with the King, that Prince *David* refused the Earl of the Marches Daughter, and took to Wife *Mariel*, Daughter to *Dowglas*. Earl *George* not being used to be confronted, or sit down with disgrace, could hardly enforce his patience to endure this scorn. And first he demanded restitution of his money, not so much for desire to have it, as to pick an occasion to break his allegiance. The King refused to make payment, or give promise, but deluded him with frivolous delayes, whereupon, with his Family, he fled to the Earl of *Northumberland*, intending by disloyalty to revenge the indignity; and to repair his losses by his Enemies ruine, if possible: The English, with wide and open Arms, embrace the opportunity, with whose help and assistance the Earl made divers incursions into *Scotland*, where he burnt many Towns, and slew much people, enriching himself with booty and spoil. King *Robert* depriveth the Earl of his Honour, seizeth all his lands and possessions, and writes to King *Henry*, that as he would have the truce between them longer to continue, either to deliver unto him the Earl of *March* and his adherents, or else to banish them the Realm. King *Henry* perceiving, that these Wars arising, had almost put the Peace out of joynt, was determined not to lose

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the benefit of the discontented Subjects of his adversary; whereupon he returned answer to the Herald of *Scotland*, that he was neither weary of Peace, nor fearful of War, and ready, as occasion should change, either to hold the one, or hazard the other: But the word of a Prince was (or ought to be) of great weight; and therefore since he had granted unto the Earl of *March* his safe conduct, it would be a great impeachment to his honour, without just cause, to violate the same. Hereupon the King of *Scots* did presently proclaim open War against the the King of *England*, who thought it policy rather to begin the War in the Enemies Countrey, than to expect it in his own; because that Land which is the Seat of War, doth commonly furnish both sides with necessary Supplies, the Friend by Contribution, the Enemy by Spoil; sending certain Troops of Horsemen before him, both to espy and to induce an uncertain terror upon the Enemy; he entred into *Scotland* with a puissant Army, and with Fire and Sword proceeded, sparing not Castle, Town or City, but burned Churches and Religious houses, so that in all places that he passed, the spectacle was ugly and grisly which he left behind him, being such as commonly accompany the Chariot of War. They that fled before the Army filled all places with fear and terror, extolling, above truth, the *English* Forces, to diminish thereby their shame in running from them. About the end of *September*, he besieged the Castle of *Maidens* in *Edenburgh*, where Prince *David* and the Earl *Dowglass* were; the Inconstancy of the one, and the Ambition of the other, being the principal movers of all this loss of Blood. During this Siege, *Robert* Duke of *Albany*, the Governour (during the King of *Scots* inability through sickness to manage the business) sent an Herald to King *Henry*, protesting upon his Honour, that if he would abide but five dayes at the most, he would either remove the Siege, or lose his Life. The King bountifully rewarded the Herald, and promised in the word of a Prince, to abide there during the time by him prefixed. But six times six dayes were past, but neither Governour nor other appeared: Winter came on, Victual in the Camp failed, the Countrey was cold and comfortless, it rained every day in great abundance, which distemperature of weather, and want of besitting sustenance, caused the death of many a tall Souldier. It may be these discommodities arising, stayed the Governour from performing his promise; for policy was against it, to hazard his Men to fight, when Winter and Want, two forcible Foes, had given the Charge upon his Enemy: sure it is, that they moved the King to remove his Siege, and depart out of *Scotland* unfought with; Both the Wardens of the *Marches* were all this time in *Scotland* with the King, upon which advantage, the *Scots* did break into *Northumberland*, and did some spoil in *Banboroughshire*, the *English* quickly took the Alarum, but the *Scots* with as much speed retired: But when King *Henry* had discharged his Army, the *Scots* not so desirous of Life, as Revenge, made a speedy Road into *England*, under the conduct of Sir *Thomas Habbarton* of *Dirlstan*, and Sir *Patrick Heborne* of *Hales*; but all the hurt they did, did rather waken than weaken the *English*, and they themselves were somewhat encouraged, but nothing enriched by what they had got: But Sir *Patrick* puffed up with desire and hope, resolved upon a greater exploit; The People, which are easily led by Prosperity, in great Numbers resorted unto him, but he was loth to have more fellows in the spoils than he thought he should need in the danger; therefore with a competent Army of the Men of *Loughdeane*, he invaded *Northumberland*, where he made great spoil, and loaded his Souldiers with Prisoners and prey.



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prey. They thought of no peril that might be in the retreat: so they marched loofely and licentiously, neither keeping themselves to their colours or ranks: but the Earl of *Northumberland's* Vice-warden, and other borderers in good array, set upon them at a Town called *Nesbyt*: The Scots valiantly received the charge, and the battel was sharp; in the end the Scots ranks grew thin, as being rather confusedly shuffled together, than orderly composed; which when the Vice-warden felt, with a company which he purposely retained about him for sudden dispatches, he charged them home and routed them. Sir *Patrick* bereaved of counfel and comfort, ran up and down from place to place, commanding many things, and presently forbidding them; and the less of force his directions were, the oftener did he change them; at last (as it hapneth in lost and desperate cases) every man became a Commander, but none a putter in execution, so the ranks loosed and brake, and could not be re-united: the Victor closely pursuing the advantage, Sir *Patrick* thinking of nothing less than either flying or yielding, but thrusting himself amongst the thickest of the enemies, honourably lost his life: many of his linage, and the flower of *Loughdeane* were likewise slain: there were taken Sir *John* and *William Cockbourne*, Sir *William Basse*, *John* and *Thomas Hablington* Esquires, and a multitude of common Souldiers: On the English part no great number were slain, and none of rank or quality.

About this time King *Henry* sent his eldest daughter *Blanch*, accompanied with the Earl of *Somerset*, the Bishop of *Worcester*, the Lord *Clifford*, and others, into *Almaine*, who brought her into *Celleine*, where, with great triumph she was married to *William Duke of Bavier*, Son and Heir to *Lewis* the Emperour.

About the midst of August, the King with a great power went into *Wales* to pursue *Owen Glendour*, but lost his labour, for *Glendour* had conveyed himself into his lurking holes amongst the mountains. The King through the extremity of foul weather was enforced to retire, having spoiled and burnt a great part of the Countrey round about.

The Scots under the leading of *Archibald Dowglas*, about the number of twenty thousand, with barbarous cruelty entred into *Northumberland*, making havock by the way, but at a place called *Homildon* they were encountred by the English, under the leading of *Henry Lord Piercy*, firnamed *Hotspur*, and *George Earl of March*, on Holy-rood day in harvest, who put them to flight, and took prisoners (after the slaughter of ten thousand of them) five hundred; whereof *Mordack Earl of Fife* (the Son of the General, who in the fight lost one of his eyes) *Thomas Earl of Murrey*, *Robert Earl of Angus*, the Earls of *Athol* and *Mentith* were chief; and amongst the slain were Sir *John Swinton*, Sir *Adam Gordon*, Sir *John Leviston*, Sir *Alexander Ramsay* of *Dalebowsey*, and twenty three other Knights. *Piercy* having put his prisoners in safe keeping, entred *Trivdale*, wasting all in the way, and there besieged the Castle of *Cockclawes*, of which Sir *John Greenlow* was Captain, who upon condition that if he were not relieved within three months, compounded to surrender the Castle. The first two months were past and no rescue or likelihood thereof appeared; but before the expiration of the third month, the Souldiers were sent for to attend the King in his expedition, as before, against *Glendour*, and so He raised the siege, and departed with a plentiful booty.

The French King to back *Glendour* in his traiterous designs (not so much

much for love of him, as hatred to King *Henry*) sent twelve hundred Men of Quality, to be Captains and Commanders to those rebellious disorderly Troops; but the Winds were so contrary, and the violence of the storm such that they lost twelve of their best Ships, with their freight, and the rest with great difficulty returned to *France*; the English deriding, the whilst, the French Kings ill success, whose enterprises, though they threatned much, yet they always vanished to nothing: The report whereof so exasperated his resolutions, that forthwith he sent into *Wales* twelve thousand Men, who safely landed, and joyned with the Welch: But upon notice of the English Armies approach, suspecting their own strength, or their partakers fidelity, amazed and heartless they ran to their Ships, and without any service done, disgracefully turned home.

King *Henry's* Embassadors lately sent into *Britain* for the Lady *Jane de Navar*, Duchesse of *Britain*, the relict of *John de Mountford*, surnamed the Conqueror, with whom the King, by Procurators, had contracted matrimony, in the beginning of *February* returned with her in safety. The King met her at *Winchester*, where, the seventh of *February*, the Marriage was solemnized. In the mean time *Valarian* Earl of *S. Paul*, out of a malicious hatred to King *Henry*, with seventeen hundred Men of War, from *Harslew* landed in the Isle of *Wight*, where burning two Villages, and some few Cottages, in token of Triumph he made some Knights: But hearing the people of the Island to have assembled, he hastened to his Ships and retired.

About that time *John* Earl of *Clermont* (the Heir of *Bourbon*) won from the English the Castles of *Saint Peter* and *Saint Mary*, and the new Castle. The Lord *de la Bret* won the Castle of *Calafyn*, of great consequence for the honour of *England* to be questioned.

The *Piercys*, Earls of *Northumberland* and *Worcester*, with *Henry Hotspur*, which in the initiation of King *Henry's* attempts, had been both advisers and coadjutors in his proceedings, about this time began to turn retrograde to obedience; their reason was, for that the King not only refused at their request to redeem their Kinsman *Mortimer* from *Glendours* slavery, though often by them and their friends to that purpose solicited; but likewise contrary to the Law of the field and martial custom, as they pretended, had challenged, as of right pertaining to him, all such prisoners as by their martial prowess had been taken of the Scots, either at *Homildon* or *Nesbyt*, of which they formerly (whether of curtesie or duty by them, it was disputable) only had delivered unto him *Morduk*, the Duke of *Albany's* Son. Nevertheless they came to the King at *Windsor*, where (of purpose to prove him) they required, that either by ransom, or otherwise, he would procure the liberty and enlargement of their cousin German, *Edmond Mortimer*, slavishly shackled and abused, as they affirmed, for being true to him. The King made answer, That the Earl of *March* was not taken prisoner in defence of his Title, nor in his Service, but willingly suffered himself to be taken, because he would not withstand the attempts of the Traitor *Owen* and his Complices, and therefore neither would relieve nor ransom him: Whereupon *Henry Hotspur* brake forth, and in passion said, The Heir of the Realm is bereaved of his right, and the robber will not allow him part of his own for his redemption, and therewith the *Piercys* departed the Kings presence, and presently procured *Mortimer's* delivery. And to add more weight to King *Henry's* displeasure, they entred into a League Offensive and Defensive with *Glendour*: And by their Proxies, in the House of the Archdeacon of *Bangor*,

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*Bangor*, they agreed upon a Tripartite Indenture under their Hands and Seals, respectively to be made, to divide the Kingdom into three parts; whereby all *England*, from *Severne* and *Trent* South and Eastward, was assigned for the portion of the Earl of *March*; all *Wales*, and the Lands beyond *Severn* Westward, were assigned to be the portion of *Owen Glendour*; and all the remainder of Land from *Trent* Northward, to be allotted to Lord *Piercy*. This was devised or advised, say some, by *Glendour* (whom they would make a Sooth-sayer) by occasion of a Prophecie, as though King *Henry* was the Mouldwarp, cursed of Gods own mouth, and they three must be the Lion, the Dragon, and the Wolf, which should divide the Land among them. But the event proved those blind fantastical dreams of the Welsh Sooth-sayers to be *Deviations non divinationes*. In the mean time, King *Henry* not acquainted with these Conspiracies, caused a Proclamation to be made, intimating thereby, that the Earl of *March* had voluntarily caused himself to be taken Prisoner. That the Rebels having him in their custody and company, might pretend some colour wherewith to varnish such conspiracies as secretly they had complotted and contrived against his Crown and him; and therefore his discretion for his safety advised him not to hearken to any motion for his being redeemed.

Hereupon the *Piercies*, assisted with a company of Scots (whom they, by setting their Scottish prisoners at liberty, had procured) drew to their party the Earl of *Stafford*, and *Richard Scroop*, Archbishop of *Tork*, Brother to the beheaded Earl of *Salisbury*, and many others; and with them purposed to joyn with the Captain of the Welsh. And to set the better Gloss to their treasonable attempts, they framed, by way of accusation, certain Articles against the King, which they published, and to this effect sent them unto him in Writing.

#### Articles against King HENRY.

**I** *Mprimis*, That when he returned from his exilement, he made faith only to challenge and recover his Inheritance and his Wives, and not to intermeddle with the King nor with his Crown, by reason of which Oath, divers Loyal and good Subjects to King *Richard*, resorted unto him, not having any Treasonable intent: But after, when he saw his power so much increased, that he might do what he pleased, he wickedly brake his Oath, and without any right, or colour-like right, procured himself to be made and Crowned King.

2. *Item*, That not only as an Arch-traitor he had imprisoned his own Liege Lord, and undoubted Master, King *Richard*, but had caused him to be barbarously murdered, that so with the greater security he might enjoy his Masters Crown and Kingdom.

3. *Item*, That ever since the death of King *Richard*, he had unjustly kept the Kingdom and the Crown from his Kinsman *Edmond Mortimer* Earl of *March*, who was the Son and Heir apparent of *Philip*, the Daughter and Heir of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, elder Brother to *John of Gannet*, Father of the new usurping King.

4. *Item*, That when neither present occasion nor need compelled him, he had imposed divers Taxes and Subsidies upon the people to their great grief and impoverishing, whereof they willingly would, but durst not complain.

5. *Item*, That no justice could be expected at his Hand, because that contrary

trary to the Oath which he had taken when he was Crowned, he had by Letters sent into sundry Shires, and thereby procured certain Burgesſes of the Parliament, and Knights of the Shire to be choſen, whom he knew would not fail to ſerve his turn, as occaſion ſhould be offered.

6. And laſtly, That where in honour, and for affinities ſake, he ought to have ranſomed or redeemed his ſaid Couſin, the Earl of *March*, from his loathſom imprifonment (being by ſome of his Privy Council thereto often ſolicited) he not only denied the ſaid requeſt, but falſly and untruly publiſhed and declared, That the Earl himſelf, was of his own accord become a voluntary priſoner, to the end that Traitors and Rebels joyning with him, might have ſomewhat wherewith to colour ſuch Treasons as they would Conſpire or Plot againſt him.

For which cauſes, and many others as bad, they deſied him as an uſurping Traitor; and as an utter Enemy they vowed his deſtruction, and the reſtoring of the ſaid Earl to his right.

The King perceiving that nothing but ſtrength of blows could end this ſtrife; and being perſuaded that if he could victoriously ſuppreſs this Rebellion, he ſhould bereave his enemies from future hope to prevail in the like attempts; with a great and well compoſed Army, he marched towards the Lords, forecaſting in his march, how to prevent the *English* from joyning with the *Welſh*, which with a provident care he prevented; and about *Shrewsbury*, on *Saturday*, *Saint Mary Magdalens Eve*, he encountred the *Piercies*: the *Scots* gave a brave onſet on the King, but he ſo welcomed them, that ſcarce one was left unhurt, but moſt of them ſlain; yet the Conſpirators ſtoutly maintained the Fight, and purſued it with that courage and reſolution, that they were confident of good ſucceſs, until the King, with the young Prince *Henry*, and ſome young branches of honorable, ſtocks in their company (bravely reſolving, rather to die honorably than to live diſgracefully) put to their ſtrengths to joyn with Valour, and with a noble emulation, to give fair example each to other, they ſo ſhook the Enemies Vant-guard, that *Hotſpur*, and ſome other chief Commanders on his ſide, and many thouſands more, were ſlain. The Earl of *Worceſter* was taken Priſoner in the Field, together with Sir *Richard Vernon*, Sir *Theobald Truſſell*, and the Baron of *Kindarton*, and the reſt fled. On the Kings part (beſides the Earl of *Stafford*, who had but that Morning revolted from the other ſide) were ſlain Sir *Hugh Sherley*, Sir *John Clifton*, Sir *John Cockaine*, Sir *Nicholas Gauſel*, Sir *Walter Blunt*, Sir *John Calverley*, Sir *John Maſſey* of *Puddington*, Sir *Hugh Mortimer*, and Sir *Robert Gauſel*, all which had been but that morning before dubbed Knights, with Sir *Thomas Wendesley*, who afterwards died of the wounds there received. This *Edmond Stafford* was third Son of Earl *Hugh*, and after the death of *Thomas* and *William*, who died without Iſſue, was Earl of *Stafford* and Lord of *Tunbridge*; he married *Anne*, the Daughter of *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, Duke of *Gloceſter*, by whom he had Iſſue *Humphrey*, afterwards Duke of *Buckingham*, and *Philip* that died young, and *Anne*, firſt married to *Edmond Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, but had no Iſſue by him; and after was married to *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, by whom ſhe had Iſſue, *Henry* Duke of *Exeter*. Of common Souldiers the King loſt about ſixteen hundred, but had made ſlaughter of above ſix thouſand of the Conſpirators (whereof thirty ſix fell by his own Sword) nevertheless *Dowglaſſe* once unhorſed him, and in his preſence ſlew Sir *Walter Blunt*, who with divers others that day,

An. 1403.  
R. 3.



An. 1403.  
R. 3.

day were in all things habited alike to the King; for which so brave exploit, after *Dowglas* by the unfortunate fall of his Horse (having broken two of his Ribs) being taken prisoner, was by the Kings special command carefully dressed and attended, and ransomless, with great commendation, set at liberty; so far can Vertue prevail with a generous Foe.

The day following, the King with the whole Army, with great shew of zeal, gave God thanks for this Victory, by his assistance so happily atchieved, and then caused the Earl of *Worcester* to be beheaded, and many of the Ring-leaders of that Rebellion to be drawn, hanged and quartered, and their Heads placed on *London Bridge*. This *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Worcester*, and Lord high Admiral of *England*, married *Elizabeth*, eldest Sister and Co-heir of *David* Earl of *Athol*, by whom he had Issue, *Henry* Earl of *Athol*. After this the King sent *Henry*, Prince of *Wales*, with the whole Army into that Country; but before his coming, *Owen Glendour* was abandoned by all his company, and lurking in the Woods, was there famished; many of his Associates were taken, and there put to death, and the Prince joyfully returned to the King.

Whilst the Prince was in *Wales*, *Henry Piercy*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, of his own accord, came and submitted himself to the King, with many oaths and protestations of his innocency, as not being once acquainted with any intent of Treason and Rebellion. And though the King conceived not the least thought that might excuse him, yet for that time he gave him a seeming shew of fair entertainment, and for that time with gentle language and kind countenance, as it was thought, for that he had the possession of *Berwick Castle*, and other places of strength in his power, permitted to go free, and come at his pleasure.

The *Britains*, under the leading of the Lord of *Cassiles*, spoiled and burnt the Town of *Plimouth*, and returned unfought with; his speed was the more, and his fortune the better: But lest he should boast too much of his Conquest, the Western Men, under the Command of *William Wilford* Esq; by order from the King, sent forth a Fleet, which arriving in *Britain*, took forty Ships laden with Oyl, Sope, and *Rochel* Wines, and burnt about forty more, and then landed at *Pennarch*, burning Towns and Villages six leagues within the Country, together with the Town of *Saint Matthew*, and all the building there three leagues about the same, and returned laden with spoil and booty, sufficient, with advantage, to recompence the losses received at *Plimouth*.

An. 1404.  
R. 4.

A Parliament was called at *Coventry* about the Feast of *All Saints*, but at *St. Andrews* tide, for want of good accommodation, there the same was Prorogued to *London*, until the Feast of *Epiphany*.

The Frenchmen, about that time, attempted to have ransacked the Isle of *Wight*, and to that end set on Land one thousand Footmen, who having got together a great booty of Cartel, the Islanders enforced them to their Ships, and to leave their prey behind them, with many of their Men, to help to pay the damage done. An unaccustomed surcharging Subsidy of every Knights fee, whether the same were held by Mesnalty, or otherwise, twenty shillings to the King; every one that could dispend twenty shillings *per annum ultra reprises*, and so upward of what holding soever, twelve pence the pound; and above twenty pounds in goods, according to the rate, twelve pence in the pound, is in this Parliament granted, but with this caution and protestation, that it should not hereafter be drawn for a President, and that no Records thereof

A bidding Subsidy.

thereof, should be kept in the Treasury or Exchequer; but that presently upon the account made, all the Rows thereof to be burnt.

An. 1404.

R. 41

This year there died that ever to be revered with grateful remembrance, *William of Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*, who more affecting by Works of Piety and Charity, to do good unto his Countrey, than to propagate posterity, left behind him many monuments of his zeal to Religion, and love to the Church; howsoever his primitive name is uncertain and disputable: For the discordancy of Writers of those times, have left too many scrupulous questions about his decent and Original Surname; I have therefore as near (as God hath enabled me) endeavoured to clear the point; and what with some search I have found hereof, to set down the truth. And though to some it may here appear impertinent, yet I presume it will not altogether prove unprofitable.

The original  
of *William*  
of *Wickham*.

In the year of our Lord God 1384. *William* the Son of *John Liang*, was born at *Wickham* in the County of *Southernton*; This *John* was Parish Clerk of *Wickham* aforesaid, in which place he taught Children to write, and amongst others his own Son, who profited so well, that he attained to the writing of a very fair hand; a quality in those days much respected, and by the better sort greatly desired.

From *Wickham* this *John* with his wife and family removed to *Itchfield*; and there as aforesaid, he continued the course aforesaid. And thither amongst others, did one *Nicholas Woodhall*, then Constable of the Castle of *Winchester*, send a Son of his to be instructed; who upon his return, making relation to his Father, of this *William* his skill of fair writing, was so much that this Constable of the Castle procured the said *William* of his Father, and kept him together with his own child at School in *Winchester*, where he learned his Latin and French Tongues, in both which he profited exceedingly.

From *Winchester* at Master *Woodhalls* charge, he is sent to *Oxford*, where he applied himself to the study of the Canon Law; but from thence before any degree in School taken, he by his Patron was sent forth, who being made Surveyor General of His Majesties Works (a place in those times of more than ordinary regard) he is by him employed as his Clerk; and in short time grew so expert therein that he surpassed all others, in orderly keeping the Account book, and fair engrossing of the same, inasmuch, that King *Edward* the Third, about that time much addicted to rearing magnificent Structures: coming in Progress, and lodging at the Castle of *Windsor*, heard a large commendation from the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Adam de Orleton*, of this *William Liangs* sufficiency in surveying; who affirmed unto the King, that he had divers times, by his Masters leave, employed the young man; and upon full proof, found him every way of sufficiency to do His Majesty any requirable service. Whereupon the King told the Bishop, That if without doing wrong to his Master he might obtain it, he was desirous to have this *William* to serve him. The Bishop thereupon perswaded and prevailed with Master *Woodhall*, to prefer this his servant to the King, who more tendering his Clerks preferment, than his own case or Service, (a course not ever frequent in this Age) accordingly tendereth him, whom the King graciously entertaineth, and presently employeth him in contriving and overlooking his Fortifications at *Dover* and *Windsor* Castles, and afterwards made him Surveyor of his Buildings at *Windsor* Castle, and his Houles of *Ham*, and *East Windsor*; in all which his employments he so dexterously behaved himself, that he not only got the general good will

-12. Signet at  
-13. Signet at  
-14. Signet at



An. 1404.

R. 4.

Archib. fol. 257.  
Parker. fol. 257.

of his contemporary Officers and Workmen, but, also the Favour of the King, and his Councel, and all the Courtiers; of whom by discreet observation he had sufficiently learned to make use of the time to his best advantage. And having sufficiently seen proved by others experience, that service is no certain Heritage; and that only to depend on the Kings Favour, and the peoples praise, was but a brittle and slippery course to run in; wisely therewithal observing, that spiritual promotions (the wind blowing as it did) was easily to be obtained, presuming the King would not be offended, if he should enter into orders, when thereby preferment was every day promised; no doubt inwardly feeling himself to be sufficiently called, he entred into Holy Function: and according to the custom of the Clergy-Men of those times, he was from thenceforth written, and called by the name of *William of Wickham*; and by that name was instituted first Parson of *Saint Martins* in the field; then made Master of *Saint Martins le grand*; afterwards Archdeacon of *Lincoln*, Provost of *Wells*, and Rector of *Marybent* in *Devonshire*.

But within short time after, notwithstanding his watchful care in his deportment, to give no occasion of offence (as near as possible to any) much less to the King; yet he was fallen into the Jaws of Envy (a common plague to Court-Favorites) and by some or others traduced to the King, for over-ambitiously affecting vain-glory, as arrogating the renown of the Kings choice-piece of Building, to be the Work of *Wickham* only; and for an instance thereof, they produce a sculpture in a stone of the Wall in *Winchester* Tower in *Windsor* Castle; set up at that time, when he was employed in that Work, which imported, *This made William of Wickham*: And this upon the first relation gave just cause of indignation to the King, as derogating much from his Honour, to have a Subject to attribute the Building of the Wall to his Sovereigns House, to be done at his charge. For which so saying, the King sharply reprehendeth *Wickham*; To whom *Wickham* modestly replieth, That it was far from his thought, to ascribe by that inscription, the Honour of Building that Tower to himself, but his own good hap, for being preferred to that Work, for not by any indifferent construction, the words may seem to import, that *Wickham* Built that Tower; but his employment thereabouts, was the cause of making and preferring of *Wickham*; for thereby he had gained His Majesties Gracious Favour and Countenance.

By this answer the King was pacified, and as it were to make *Wickham* amends, and deter his calumniators from further persisting in such their envious courses, the Kings Favour is daily increased towards him, and he is enriched with many fair preferments: Insomuch, that within few years, by the assistance and Plotting of *John Buckingham*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, and Sir *Simon Burleigh*, Knight, two of his ancient and most intimate acquaintance in *Oxford*, he had gotten into his possession, besides the Spiritual Livings before remembered, twelve several Prebendships; and by dispensation from Pope *Urban*, and qualification by being the Kings Chaplain, he held at one time in his hands, so many Ecclesiastical Livings and promotions, as the value of them did amount, in the Kings Books, to the sum of eight hundred seventy six Pounds thirteen shillings and four pence; in those days a great sum. Such was his behaviour, that he held the Kings Favour firm unto him, and the Nobility for the most part did well approve his courses: besides these Spiritual promotions, the King had likewise honoured him

In regis. Si-  
monis, Larg.  
fol. 12.

him with many Temporal places of both profit and respect, as being his Principal Secretary, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Master of the Wards and Liveries, Treasurer of the Kings Revenues in *France*, and some other Offices of less eminency. Now whilst his Wealth and Worship every day increased, in Anno 1356. *William Edendon*, Bishop of *Winchester* departed this life, leaving the Sea void; whereupon (the King desiring the same) the Monks of *Saint Smithins* in *Winchester* elected *William* of *Wickham* to that Sea: But *Urban* the then Pope, being sufficiently informed of the Elects little Learning, but great livelihood, deferr'd by the space of a whole year, the confirmation of the Election; in which time, *Wickham's* good Angels interceding for him in the Court of *Rome*, he is permitted to take the benefit of the Spiritualties, and to have the Temporalties in the mean time sequestred. The King hearing how much the insufficiency of Scholarship was obtruded upon *Wickham*, began to expostulate with him to surcease further suit for the place, which required to be supplied by a Man of more sufficiency in Clerkship, than he was reckoned of to be; to whom *Wickham* replied, That so please his Majesty to continue his gracious favour towards him, so that he might obtain his desire therein, he doubted not, but by Gods special assistance, so to behave himself, that he would supply all defects of Scholarship in himself, by providing for others means and maintenance, to make and keep able persons for the service of the State, and the good of the Kingdom; wherewith the King was so taken, that he wrought so effectually, that in the year 1367. he was consecrated Bishop of *Winchester*, and was restored to all profits of that Bishoprick during the vacancy.

Within short time after he was made Lord Treasurer, and was employed and trusted with all the affairs of the Kingdom, and had the disposition of all the Kings Treasure, which was the occasion to advantage his Enemies to strike the more easily at him. For the King by the new Bishops care, being rid of many troubles, yet took a further benefit thereby; for whatsoever was done that displeased the Council, or the Commons, that was objected to the Bishop, whereby when the Kings wants were pressing, it was held the best policy at that time, to give the King a supply, by squeezing the full moistned sponge of the Bishops Coffers. And to yield some colour for their so doing; the Bishop is charged to give account for eleven hundred ninety six thousand pounds received, during the time of his being Treasurer; besides a hundred thousand Francks, delivered him by *Galeaze* Duke of *Millain*, which must be suddenly performed; and the more to puzzle him at that very instant, divers untrue and feigned cavillations, by way of complaint, are put up against him at the Council Board; to the answering whereof he is instantly convented, where, whilst he is intentive to save the bye, he hazarded the loss of the main; for whilst he indeavoureth to give satisfactory answers to the aforesaid calumniation, Judgment is, through the earnest importunity of the Duke of *Lancaster*, by *William Skipwith*, Lord Chief Justice, upon an Information of deceit suggested, awarded in the Kings Bench against him; by means whereof, all his Temporalties were seized upon, taken into the Kings Hands, and given to the Prince of *Wales*.

And for a further addition to his affliction, by *John* of *Gaunts* means, he is in the Kings Name commanded upon pain of his Majesties high displeasure, not to come within twenty miles of the Court. The Bishop with a clear Conscience, and a constant Resolution, awaits a fitter time to crave review of this sentence against him; and like a discreet Pilat, playeth with the

An. 1404.  
R. 4.  
Fox. Mart.  
fol. 1100.

Godwyn. fol.  
184.



An. 1404.

R. 4.

Continuator  
hist. Ranulphi.  
Parker. Ar. fol.  
257.

Antiquitates  
Brit. fol. 257.

wave, which if he should meet, might indanger him, and by giving way thereto, escapeth the hazard. Accels to the King he knew not how to obtain; to pacifie the Duke of *Lancaster*, he saw no possibility; and how to procure any course to be taken for his benefit, he was altogether ignorant. His Train therefore he dismisseth, excepting some few, of whose honest fidelity, and otherways sufficiency he had made sufficient proof; these he employeth to write out and ballast his accounts, and such answers as he had made to the accusations and informations, which as afore said were exhibited against him; which perfected, the Copies thereof he privately disperseth amongst his Brethren of the Clergy, and such other as he presumed would without prejudice to his cause, vouchsafe the reading of them. And therein amongst other things, he at large setteth forth the ground, or occasion of the Duke of *Lancasters* irreconcilable malice against him, which was thus: Queen *Philip*, Wife to *Edward* the Third, upon her death-bed, by way of Confession, delivered unto *Winchester*, That *John* of *Gaunt* was not the lawful Issue of King *Edward*, but a suppositious Son; for when she was brought to bed at *Gaunt* of a maiden Child, knowing how much the King desired to have a male Issue, she consulted with one of her Maids of honour, by whose industry the Daughter was exchanged with a Dutch Woman for a boy, whereof she had been delivered about the same hour with the Queens. Thus much she confessed, and withal conjured the Bishop, that if the said *John* of *Gaunt*, should at any time directly or indirectly attempt or affect the wearing of the Crown; or that rightfully for want of Issue it should devolve unto him, That the Bishop should discover the same, and make it known to the King and the Council: afterwards the Queen being dead, and *John* of *Gaunt* during the weakness of the King, did take upon him so much, that he gave just cause of suspicion to the lookers on, of his ambitious affecting the Crown. The Bishop first in silent and secret manner by way of Ghostly counsel, dissuaded the Duke from nursing the least hope of ever attaining the Crown; and withal, used his best persuasions to him to content himself privately to live without further intermedling than needs must, with the affairs of the Kingdom; and then he would keep unrevealed, what otherwise by tie of duty to his Profession, he must and would discover, which would redound much to the Dukes disparagement. This so nettled the Duke, that passion confounded reason; and in the height thereof he waded as far as he durst, for fear of undergoing the censure of the Church, for reviling one of the Fathers thereof: Nevertheless, he did not so temper his words, but that he gave just occasion to the Bishop to provide for his safety, and to look to himself; hereof he gave intimation to the rest of the Bishops.

And so it chanced, that within short time after, a Parliament is convoked, wherein the Kings necessity of present supply of money is much prest. But the Clergy unanimously affirm, that without their Brother the Bishop of *Winchesters* presence, they neither can, nor will consult of any thing; and therefore crave that he might be permitted to come. The King being told that he being a principal Member of the House of Parliament, could not with conveniency be excluded. Whereupon he is sent for.

The Bishop upon notice of the Kings pleasure repaireth to *London*, but in that obscure manner, and with that small Retinue, that he ministred occasion of commiseration to the beholders: which so incensed the Duke of *Lancaster*, that he not only continued his indignation against the Bishop of *Winchester*,

chester, but openly did oppose all the Bishops in general, protecting and countenancing *Wickeliff*, a Man of more zeal than discretion, in all his overbold and undutiful carriage towards them. In the mean time *Winchester* having sufficiently learned, that the King now in his declining time, did so dote upon *Alice Pierce*, that in a manner he was altogether governed by her, complies himself wholly to her, and so effectually *ant prece ant pretio*, or both, made his way with her, that mauger all what the Duke could say, or do to the contrary; after two years being kept out of his Livings by her means, the Bishop is restored fully to whatsoever had been taken, or was detained from him.

An. 1404.

R. 4.

The Parliament dissolved, the Bishop cometh to *Winchester*, where as well by the Citizens, as Prior and Covent, he is joyfully with kind welcom, and general procession received and entertained. Then and there also he receiveth of the Executors of his Predecessor, Bishop *Edington*, satisfaction for the sum of one thousand one hundred sixty two pounds ten shillings; and for the value of one thousand five hundred fifty six Rother beasts; three thousand eight hundred seventy six Weather-sheep, four thousand seven hundred and seventeen Ews, three thousand five hundred twenty one Lambs, and one thousand one hundred twenty seven Swine, formerly recovered against them for dilapidations, before the Official of *William Witesley* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Ubi supra.

King *Edward* being dead, and *Alice Pierce* being banished the Court, *John of Gaunt* confident now to work his malicious designs against *Winchester*, taking the advantage of his Nephew King *Richards* infancy, musters afresh his old Forces, and with small addition of some new surmised cavillations, reinforms and again accuseth the Bishop of *Winchester*: But the Dukes malice was not more discernable, but the Bishops innocency was every way as perspicuous; by means whereof he escaped all the *Gauntish* machinations, and by the help of his truest Friend (his open but full purse) he obtained a general Pardon under the great Seal of *England*, and together with that, from thenceforth a quiet and unperturbed estate; during which time, he made preparations to forward his preintended goodly buildings, providing himself of all needful materials, and furnishing himself with some of them, and all his chief Workmen, for Stone-work out of *France*; having made trial of his Artificers skill in their own Country, where at *Roven* he built a stately Conventual Church, and furnished the same with all needful and befitting ornaments and maintenance.

Stow 462.

And now having in readiness all requirable Utenfils, his first work was the building of a Chappel at *Tytchfeld*, where his Father, Mother, and Sister *Perrot* were buried, endowing the same with proportionable maintenance for a Priest, to perform the Ceremonies in those days used for the benefit of the Souls departed.

He founded at *Southwick* in the County of *Southampton*, near the Town of *Wickham*, the place of his birth, as a supplement to the Priory of *Southwick*, a Chauntry, with sufficient aliment, and all other necessities for five Priests for ever.

He bestowed twenty thousand Marks, in orderly repairing the Houses belonging to the Bishoprick.

He discharged out of prison, in all places of his Diocess, all such poor prisoners as lay in execution for debt under twenty pounds, about which he expended two thousand pounds.



An. 1404.  
R. 4.

He sufficiently amended all the high ways from *Winchester* to *London*, on both sides the River.

He procured large Immunities to the See of *Winchester*, and purchased Lands thereto, to the value of two hundred Marks *per annum*, with a Licence in Mortmain for two hundred pounds *per annum* more.

In the eleventh year of the Reign of *Richard* the Second, he receiveth from the Kings own Hands the great Seal of *England*, and is made Lord Chancellor, whereby it appeareth that King *Richard* was not altogether so void of judgment in the choice of his Officers of eminency, as the Writers of his time would seem to make him.

At his return from Court, he called all his Officers to account, amongst whom he remitted the sum of four thousand pounds, in which they were arere, and gave to every one of them respectively, a general release of all demands until that time.

He likewise remitted unto the Tenants of the Bishoprick, all such customary payments of knowledge money, as were by his Officers affirmed to be due unto him; in the whole, amounting to the sum of five hundred and twenty pounds.

But now, as if whatsoever was done before had been but an essay of what he intended to do after, he began to lay the foundation of that magnificent Structure in *Oxford*, at that, and till this time called, *New College*. And upon the fift day of *March*, *Anno Dom.* 1379. he in person laid the first stone thereof. And afterward having finished and sufficiently furnished the same with all besitting accommodations, and endowed with proportionable means, for the liberal maintenance of a Warden, Threescore and ten Students, twelve Chaplains, three Clerks, sixteen Choristers, one Organist, and all other Officers requirable, either in Church or College.

*Isa. Wake*, fol.  
90.

He dedicated the same to the honour of God, in the memory of the Virgin *Mary*. And upon the fourteenth day of *April*, in the year of our Lord God 1386. at three of the clock in the Morning, he gave the possession thereof to them whom he had made choice of to be the Warden and Fellows therein. *Leland* and *Fox* in his Martyrology affirm, that in this place before it, there stood *Nativus* College, built by *Aluredus* at *Nativus* intreaty, and that for the affinity of the Name, it came to be called *New College*.

The next year following, that is to say, the 26 day of *March* 1387. he likewise in person laid the first stone of the like foundation, near the Bishop of *Winchesters* Palace in the Soak by *Winchester*, called *Woolvesey*, to be in manner of a Nurfery or Seminary of Grammarians, to be fitted and made ready for his College in *Oxford*. And in the like space of six years finished the same, and Dedicated the same as that other in *Oxford*, and as afore at three of the clock upon the 28 of *March* 1393. he gave seizen thereof unto them by him then chosen Warden, Fellows, and Scholars, *John Morrice* Clerk being the first Warden, *John Milton* the first School-master.

His provident care likewise was such, that he not only finished these two so renowned Colleges, and every way for the present furnished the same with all needful and necessary accommodations for the maintenance of them in a most liberal proportion: But devised and appointed such, and so many directory Rules and Statutes for the well ordering and good Government of the

the same: That it ministred just occasion to a most reverend Archbishop to write, and give this true testimony of him and them.

An. 1404.  
R. 4.

*Que Collegia constructa & absoluta, tam præclaris legibus statutisque fundavit, terrisque ac possessionibus ita locupletavit, ut cæteris literarum Collegia postea statuere tanquam exemplar, atque speciem quod imitarentur proposuisse videatur. Ita quod à præcipuis Collegiorum Oxoniæ, Cantabrigiæque Patronis postea observatum est, ut in his quæ fundaverunt Collegiis Wickham, jura & statuta paucissimis verbis mutatis verbatim describerent. Quæ res, prudentiam ejus singularum, hisque quæ in R. P. gessit muneribus dignum indicavit quod ad bonarum literarum incrementum in quibus ne mediocriter eruditus existimabatur, tam accommodata & apposita statuta excogitaverit, &c.*

Over and above the immense charges of those his two so stately and unparalleled foundation of Colleges; the one for Prophets, the other for Prophets children, observing by his excellent knowledge in Architecture, that the small Marble pillars that stood in the body of Saint *Smithins* Church, were of the weakest to support the Roof thereof, he began where Bishop *Edington* ended, which was at the West end of the Tower, where the bells hang, and from thence to the West end of the Church all along to inclose the Marble pillars with square hard stone, and raised the Roof higher, and beautified the same; adding to the North and South-side thereof, two fair spacious Iles, covering all that part with Lead; and made a most beautiful Window at the West end, where in coloured glass was de-  
portraited the line from *Jesse* to *Joseph*, the Husband of the Virgin *Mary*; and further, ornately glazed both those Iles with the portraitures of all the preceding Bishops of *Winchester*; and stories out of the Old Testament in like glass.

About the later end of his days, the then Pope having sent over his *Proxies*, to persuade the *English* to joyn with other Christian Princes, and undertake the *Crusado*. This Bishop (through age and sickness, unable and unfit to attempt a journey of that nature) would not nevertheless be thought backward in the service, but made his purse supply the defect of his person; and to encourage others of more agile Bodies to the business, he delivered a great mass of mony, to be respectively distributed amongst such as would undertake the service, and wanted wherewith to furnish themselves accordingly for the journey.

And then some few years before his death, he appointed in the lower end of the South Ile of the body of the Church of Saint *Smithins*, beautified by him as afore said, a decent and well-befitting Monument for himself, wherein afterward he was buried. At that time also, at the end of the North Ile, there he made a commodious place for keeping the Consistory Court.

At length, knowing the uncertainty of the day, but the certainty of his departure out of this life, he made his last Will and Testament; whereby it appeared, that notwithstanding all those infinite occasions of exhausting his Treasure, he thereby expressed to bequeath respective Legacies, to the full value of six thousand two hundred seventy two pounds; for the orderly payment whereof he had provided before-hand in ready cash in his Coffers, so much Coin, besides Plate, Jewels, Books, Vestments, and all manner of Utensils of household, and an almost incredible stock and store of Corn and Cattel.

Amongst

In the College Library.



An. 1404.  
R.4.

Amongst other of his Legacies he bequeathed *Alicia Perrot consanguinea sua, centum libras. Quæ an eadem fuerit, quam Aliciam Perres, quidem Historiographi nuncupant, cujus gratia regi reconciliatus fuerat, incertum est*, saith the Author, *Britannicarum Antiquit. fol. 258.* But the contrary thereof appeareth, in that it is manifest, that *William Perrot*, who had married Bishop *Wickhams* Sister, had a Daughter then living, whose Name was *Alicia Perrot*.

He likewise left unto *Thomas Perrot*, whom he adopted to be his Heir by the Name of *Thomas Wickham*, one hundred pounds Land *per annum*, to him and his Heirs for ever: Together with all the furniture of House and household-stuff, at the time of his decease, that should be in that House wherein he should happen to depart this mortal life, which was at *South-Waltham*, now called *Waltham Episc.* in the County of *Southampton*.

This *Thomas Perrot alias Wickham*, was the youngest Son of *William Perrot*, that married *Agnes* the Daughter of *John Long* and *Sibill* his Wife: for by her he had three Sons, *Nicholas Perrot*, who entred into Orders, and lived at *Rome* or *Roven* beyond the Seas, *John*, and this *Thomas*, who was afterward Knighted by the Name of *Sir Thomas Wickham*, and married the Heir of *William Wilkes*, unde, non constat, and a Daughter called *Alice*, by some supposed to be Abbates of *Romsey*; but untruly, for her Name that was Abbates, was *Felitia*, Daughter of *Ralph Long*, whether Brother or Uncle to Bishop *Wickham*, is not for ought I can learn determined.

Before I go further, give me leave *pro posse*, to remove an objection, that may *prima facie*, seem to cross the credit, of what hath been affirmed about his repairing *St. Swithins Church*, when as it appeareth by the expresse words of his Will, that he left the doing thereof to his Executors. But so please those, that shall seem to move that question, to observe the time of the date of his Testament, and the date of the Codicil to the same annexed, by which it is appointed by him, that whatsoever he in his life-time shall undertake, that therewith his Executors shall not be chargeable, though by the Will he hath given them order to do it; so that notwithstanding by his Will he appointed his Executors to repair the Church, and erect his Tomb, yet he lived to do both himself.

And now after all these so memorable actions, saith Bishop *Godwine* in his lives of Bishops, *fol. 187.* he having run the course of a long, happy, and most honorable life, he ended the days of his Pilgrimage in peace, in the year 1404. aged above 80 years, when he had sate Bishop of *Winchester* 37 years.

I have heard it reported, that this pious Bishop did bestow upon the King, many rich Jewels of inestimable price: And to every Officer of household attending upon the King, to every one of them one Jewel or other.

And that he likewise distributed to every Parish Church within his Diocess, and of *Salisbury*, amounting in the whole to the number of six hundred fifty and four Churches, a decent Sattin Cope imbroidered, with a Challice and pix of Silver; whereon was engraven, *Ex dono Vill. de Vickham*; but upon what ground to build the truth of this relation, certainly I know not more than this, That in *Salisbury* I saw in the House of *Thomas Grafton*, one of the Aldermen thereof, an old Challice, whereon was engraven, *Ex dono Guil. de Vickham*.

And it appears in *Howes* prosecution of *Stoms Abstract*, *fol. 561.*

That Bishop *VVickham* gave many things to the King, to his Courtiers, to every Church in his Diocess, to his own servants, and to his Colleges:  
And

And therefore doubts not, but that he that thus lived, now liveth with God; whom he beseecheth to raise up many more such good Benefactors in this Kingdom, to whose good wish with all my heart, I say, So be it. Amen.

The *French* afresh cast Anchor before the *Isle of Wight*, and sent Messengers on shore to demand the delivery of the Isle to their possession, but upon the stout answer of the Islanders, and notice of their preparation and resolution to fight, the *French* weighed Anchor and departed.

Presently upon this, Monsieur *Lewis*, the proud Duke of *Orleanse*, Brother to the *French* King, in a vain-glorious stile, sent a Challenge to King *Henry*, requiring him with an hundred Men of Name, and Coat-armor, armed at all Points, with Spears, Axes, Swords, and Ponyards, to fight the Combate to yielding, every Victor to have his Prisoner, and his Ransom at pleasure, offering to come to *Angulesme*, if the King would come to *Bordeaux* to defend the Challenge. The King with great moderation, made him this discreet answer, That his former actions in Martial exploits (he presumed) had sufficiently acquitted him from any the least touch of cowardise; and withal, that Kings, Sacred and Anointed, as he was, ought not to be so careless of the People committed to their charge, for any cause to fight, except for furtherance or maintenance of true Religion, or for preservation of their Rights, or defence of their Kingdoms from depredations, or to revenge injuries obtruded, or other such like important causes; neither was he by the Law of Honour or Arms, bound to answer in Camp-fight, except upon good ground, and with his equal indignity and Office; but added withal, that he would be at times prepared to repulse, or repress any that unadvisedly or otherwise should attempt, to offer him or his, either violence or disgrace. To this the Duke replies, and the King rejoyns, but not without some unfitting taunts and jeers, which so nettled the overpassionate Duke, that with all expedition he falls upon *Vergy*, a Town in *Guian*, which for the space of three months, notwithstanding many desperate assaults, was bravely defended by Sir *Robert Antfield*, and three hundred Englishmen; insomuch, that the Duke after the loss of many Men, despairing to carry it, without honour or spoil returned into *France*. Presently upon that, the Admiral of *Britain* (who the year before had taken from the *English* certain Ships laden with Wine) accompanied with the Lord *du Castile*, and some thirty sail of Ships, attempted to Land at *Dartmouth*, but were repelled; in which Service the Lord *Castile* and two of his Brethren, and four hundred of his Men were slain, and two hundred taken prisoners; amongst whom the Lord *Baqueriville*, Marshal of *Britain*, was one.

Five hundred Men of Arms, five hundred Cross-bows, and one thousand *Flemings* on Foot, under the conduct of the Earl of *Saint Paul*, laid siege to the Castle of *Mark*, three leagues from *Callice*. Sir *Philip Hall* the Captain thereof, with fourscore Archers, and four and twenty other Souldiers, valiantly defended the same, and put off the first assault; the next day the *French* entred the base Court, where they took some Kine, Horses, and other Cattel. But they having notice that Sir *Richard Aston*, Lieutenant of the *English* pale, under the Earl of *Somerset*, with two hundred Men of Arms, three hundred Footmen, and ten Waggon of Ammunition approached, kept close in their Trenches; from whence (being beaten upon by the Bow-men on both sides) they were forced and fled. The Earl of *Saint Paul* escaped to *St. Omers*; but left three score (most Men of quality) dead behind, and fourscore

An. 1404.  
R. 5.

The *French*  
King's Bro-  
thers chal-  
lenge.

The *French*  
attempt *Dart-*  
*mouth*, and are  
repelled.



An. 1404.  
R. 5.

The Kings  
third Son  
with some  
Forces land  
at *Sluice*.

Three Car-  
racks of *Genoa*  
taken.

*Northumber-  
land* and o-  
thers with  
him rebel.

The Archb-  
shop of *York*  
persuades the  
people to rise  
against the  
King.

fourscore Prisoners, besides his Camp to be rifled by the Souldiers, with the spoil whereof they retreated to *Callice*: And within five days after their return thither, they issued forth, in hope to have surpris'd *Arde*, but by the Valour of Sir *Manfrid de Boyes* the Captain, they retired with the loss of forty of their fellows, whose carcases they burned in an old house, that the *French* should not certainly know their loss.

The Lord *Thomas* of *Lancaster*, the Kings third Son, and the Earl of *Kent*, the two and twentieth day of *May*, with competent Forces entred the Haven of *Sluice*, burnt four great Ships riding at Anchor, and in expectation to have met the Duke of *Burgoigne*, they landed, but without resistance, having spoiled the Country round about, they returned to the relief of *Callice*, which by the *French* was besieged; in the way they were encountred by three Carracks of *Genoa*, one of which, with Wind, Tide, and full Sail, bare so hard upon the Ship wherein the Lord *Lancaster* was, that had not his Pilot been the perfecter, he had been in danger to have been overborn, for his Vessel was much bruised; the Fight was doubtful, until the Earl of *Kent* bare with them, and then they took the three Carracks richly laden, and brought them to the Chamber at *Rye*, where one of them by misfortune was fired, and to the gain of neither side, perished.

The Coals of the Northern Rebellion was not so clean extinguished, but that by removing of the ashes under which they were hid, the sparks thereof were afresh discovered. For Envy, which always lyeth beneath, staring upward, had so infected their Eyes, that they could not endure to look upon King *Henries* so great prosperity, so that by the watering thereof, the soreness was discovered; amongst whom *Henry Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, *Richard Scroop*, Archbishop of *York*, *Thomas Mowbray*, Earl Marshal, the Lords *Hastings*, *Fawconbridge*, *Bardolfe*, and divers others conspired at a time appointed, to meet upon *Yorkswoold Downs*, with all the Forces they could raise; and that under the leading of old *Northumberland*, they should bid defiance to King *Henry*. The Earl Marshal invented, and the Archbishop contrived divers Articles of Grievances, both general and particular, where-with they spared not to calumniate the King; these first they covertly shewed amongst themselves, but afterwards sent Copies of them to their Friends further off, with these protestations, That to vindicate such injuries, and to redress such oppressions, they would, if need were, not spare the last drop of their best Blood. Then these Articles are set up in the publick Streets, and upon the Gates and entrances into Churches and Monasteries, that thereby all men might be thoroughly informed, what they would endeavour to reform, and what they were thus resolved, by force of Arms, to undertake; hope of Reformation of some, and desire of Innovation of others, drew on multitudes of all sides, to be partakers of this enterprise; to whom the Archbishop, clad in habiliments of War, presents himself, and first giving them his Benediction and plenary Indulgence to all such as should dye in the exploit, he exhorted some, and encouraged others to undertake and proceed with him in this enterprise: The gravity of his countenance, the perswasion of his integrity of Life, and the opinion of his deep Learning, were motives sufficient to induce many to accompany him, and all Men to reverence him. His fervor erected his zeal, but discretion did not direct his fervor; for he too suddenly discovered their projects; so that the King about to make an expedition into *Wales*, upon notice of these passages, turned his march Northwards.

Ralph

Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmerland, with Lord John the Kings second Son, having had intelligence of this insurrection, assembled what Forces they conveniently could, and with the aid of the Lords Henry Fitz-Hughes, Ralph Evers, and Robert Umbreville, they made head against the Rebels, and coming into a plain in the Forrest of Galtree, they fate down right against the Archbishop and his retinue, who were twenty thousand strong: Westmerland perceiving the Enemies Forces to exceed theirs, endeavoured to sowe the Foxes tail to the Lyons skin, and by a politick device to circumvent the Archbishop; to this end he sent a messenger unto him, demanding the cause why he a Churchman, and a grave Prelate, should draw so great a confluence of people together, and in that manner in Arms to fright the Kings Subjects, and disquiet his peaceable Government. The Archbishop returned answer, That he neither had or would do any thing, that should tend to the breach of the Kings Peace, but that he always had, and ever would pray for the continuance of the same without violation; and that the cause of his being armed, was for his own Defence, whom the King had without just cause threatned, by the instigations of such sycophants, as in too too great multitude swarmed daily about him, whereby his access unto him without such Forces could not be obtained; and herewith he sends unto Westmerland a scrowl of the Articles, desiring his patience to read them: which upon the messengers return, when Westmerland had read, he made shew of approving the Archbishops pious purpose, promising with his assistance to prosecute the same, and desired some conference privately to be had between them; in the mean time, acquainting Lord John the Kings Son with his intention. The credulous Archbishop, though a great Clerk, none of the wisest men, was so forward to believe what was proposed, that he perswaded the Earl Marshal, though most unwilling to do so, to go with him to the place appointed to confer, where with equal company they met. The Articles are read, and allowed of, and reformation resolved on all handsto be endeavoured. Whereupon Westmerland seemed to commiserate the Souldiers, being in Armour all day, and weary, with the Archbishop to acquaint his party, as he would his, with the mutual agreement, and so shaking hands, in most courtly friendship drank unto him: Whereupon the Souldiers were willed to disarm, and to repair to their Lodgings, which they willingly obeyed; but were no sooner gone, when a Troop of Horse, which in colourable manner seeming to depart, wheeled about, but afterwards returned, and being now in sight, the Earl of Westmerland arrested both the Archbishop and Earl Marshal, and brought them both Prisoners to Pomfret to the King; who was advanced so far with his power, and from thence marched to York, whither the Prisoners likewise were brought, and the next day both the Archbishop and the Earl Marshal, who died a Batchelor, were beheaded. The Archbishop took his death with that patience and constancy, that the common people did not fear to affirm he died a Martyr.

From York after the Citizens had been put to their Fines and Ransoms, the King departed thence thirty seven thousand strong, every way well appointed and furnished, and marched towards the Earl of Northumberland. At Durham the Lords, Hastings and Fauconbrigg, with two other Knights, (being convict of the Conspiracy) were executed. Northumberland hearing his Plots discovered, with three hundred Horse sped him to Berwick, from whence after he heard that the King followed him, and had taken the

Castle

Ar. 11404.  
R. 31Westmerland  
circumvents  
the Archbi-  
shop of York.He is behead-  
ed at York.



An. 1404.  
R. 59

Northumber-  
land his par-  
takers pro-  
claimed tray-  
tors.

An. 1408.  
The Prince of  
Scotland ta-  
ken Prisoner,  
and sent to  
the Tower.  
1408.

Eastmouthe  
anvauwre  
-idm A off  
Jue lo 36

The Lord  
Camoy ar-  
raigned for  
Treason, is  
acquit by the  
Peers 1408.

Castle of *Warworth*, he with the Lord *Bardolf* fled into *Scotland*, where they were entertained by *David Lord Fleming*. The King gave summons to the Castle of *Berwick*, which they refused to obey; he planted a great Piece, which being discharged against one of the Towers of the Bastlement, so shook the same, that presently they within yielded without composition. Whereupon *William Greylock*, *Henry Baynton*, and *John Blinkinop*, Knights, and five others, were put to present execution, and many other put into several prisons. In his return, he took in all such Castles and pieces of strength, as had been belonging to the Earl of *Northumberland*, or any other his partakers, who were all proclaimed Traytors.

*James* Son and Heir of *Robert King of Scotland*, attended on by the Earl of *Orkney*, and a Mixed Prelate, sailing towards *France*, (whither the Prince, being an Infant of nine years old, was sent by his Father for to be instructed in safety,) was taken by certain Mariners of *Norfolk*, and presented to the King at *Windsor*, the thirtieth of *March* 1408, from whence the Prince and Earl were sent for safekeeping to the Tower of *London*, but the Bishop escaped.

*Roger de Walden*, the Tennis ball of Fortune, who had lived to turn the wheel of chance about its circle, died this year; who from a mean Descent, and but a poor Scholar in the now but new founded Colledge of *Saint Maryes* in *Oxford*, at length came to be Chaplain there, and stepping on by degrees, attained to the Deanry of *Tork*, and finding the ginge of the Court, made such use thereof, that he thereby got to be Lord Treasurer of *England*. And after that *Richard* the second had banished *Thomas Arundel*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* the Realm, who in Parliament before but *winne juste*, was attaint of Treason, *Walden* was Consecrate and enthronized Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and so for the space of two years continued; but after a depol of King *Richard*, *Arundel* by King *Henry* was restored: and by Pope *Banishes*, *Roger* was pronounced an intruder, who now being Archbishop, but without a Bishoprick, as afflictions seldom come uncoupled; he was called to account for the Treasurership, and though he produced his quietus, yet were all his Temporaries seized, and he imprisoned; yet from thence being delivered by the charitable condition of the now Archbishop, he led a private life, but then was made Treasurer of *Galles*, and then with great hope of re-rising, he was promoted to be Bishop of *London*.

The Duke of *Orleans* besieged the Towns of *Burgh* and *Blay* in *Gascogne* with a great Power, but after eight weeks Siege, and the loss of six thousand of his Souldiers, he raised his Siege and departed.

The Lord *Camoy*, being arraigned before the Earl of *Kents* for that day Lord High Steward (upon accusation without ground, which some forgetful persons had accused) to have Plotted the Kings surprisal by Pits up on the *Tames*, in a ship whereof he had the charge, was by his Peers acquitted, and restored to his Goods, Lands, Offices, and the Kings Favour.

*Northumberland* and *Bardolf*, after they had been in *Wales*, *France*, and *Flanders*, to raise a Power against King *Henry*, returned back to *Scotland*, where after they had continued a year, with a great Power of Scots and Strangers, they returned into *England*, recovered divers Castles formerly belonging to the Earl, to whom great multitudes of people resorted, where with they came into *Torkshire*, making great spoil: by the way making proclamation, That they were coming for the comfort of the *English*, and the relief

relief

relief of the Common-wealth, therefore willed all that desired to retain their liberty, to repair unto them.

Sir *Thomas Rokesby* High-Sheriff of *York*, having levied the power of the County, with that only upon *Bramham Moor* gave the Rebels Battel; wherein *Northumberland* was slain, *Bardolf* taken, but wounded to death, and the rest put to flight. This *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland* had two Wives; the first was *Margaret* Daughter of *Ralph* Lord *Nevill* of *Raby*, by whom he had issue *Henry Hotspur*, slain as afore, Sir *Thomas Piercy*, Sir *Ralph Alane*, that died young: his second Wife was *Maud*, Daughter of *Thomas* Lord *Lucy*, by whom he had no issue.

This year a Parliament began, in which the Commons preferred a Petition to the King and the Upper-house, therein expressing their desire, that the King might have the Temporal possessions which the Bishops and Clergy consumed in unnecessary courses; the value thereof they pretended would be sufficient maintenance for one hundred and fifty Earls, one thousand five hundred Knights, six thousand two hundred Esquires, and one hundred Hospitals for maimed Souldiers, besides them already erected. They craved likewise, that the Clerks convict should not be delivered to the Bishops Prison, and that the Statute made in the second year of the King, against *Lollards*, might be repealed, which favoured of too much curiosity, and too little charity.

The King upon advised consideration justly distasting their distempered zeal, denied their Petitions, and in person commanded them, upon pain of his indignation, from thenceforth not to presume to trouble their brain about any such business. In this Parliament the King moved, in every year wherein there was no Parliament kept, to have allowed him a tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laity: the Bishops assented, but the Commons would not agree thereto.

Sir *Robert Umfrevile* the Vice-Admiral of *England*, with ten men of War entred the Ports in *Scotland*, lying there fourteen days together, landing every day on one side or other, taking great preys, and doing greater hurt: he burnt the great Gallyot of *Scotland*, and many ships over against *Lieth*, and carried away with him fourteen tall ships, laden with Corn and other Staple commodities, which at his return he sent to the Markets round about, which brought down the prices of all things, and purchased to him the name of Mend-market. He likewise made a road by Land into *Scotland*, and burnt *Iedworth*, and most part of *Tividale*.

The King created his Son *Thomas*, Duke of *Clarence*; his Brother *Thomas Beaufort*, third Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, he created Earl of *Dorset*. Upon some distaste taken, not given, against the young Prince, whose youthful carriage was well-near censured, by the graver sort, to be wild and uncivil, the King removed him from the place of President of the Council, and gave it to his third Son, *John*; and giving too much ear to his severer Councillours against the said Prince, he made (at leastwise was said to make) a misconstruction of all his actions, seasoning the same with jealousy, that he ambitiously affected the Crown, and that he would not stay the leisure of time to have it after the Kings death, but would use some stratagem (though with the loss of his Fathers Life) to take present possession thereof.

To feed this suspicion, all the youthful actions of the Prince are set on the tentors, and exemplified beyond the degree of wildness; his merriments are termed ryots, his company are stiled Swaggerers, his behaviour branded

An. 1408.  
R. 9.

An. 1410.  
R. 10.  
A Petition by the Commons against the Bishops Means to maintain Earls 150. Knights 1500. Esquires 6200. and an hundred Hospitals of new to be erected.

Sir Robert Umfrevile termed Mend-market.

An. 1411.  
R. 11.  
The Prince of Wales removed from being President of the Council.



An. 1411.

R. 11.

From hence was the honorable ornament of the collar of S. S. worn by these in eminent places, in remembrance of this Princes reconciliation to his Father, devised. The Prince presents himself to the King.

with dissoluteness, and his words and gesture dangerous: whereupon a vigilant eye is carried over him, and a note taken of all his followers and fashions. The Prince all this while innocent, would not seem (though he had intelligence of thus much) to take notice of these passages, but continued his sporting, merriments, with his old companions, amongst whom (as in all Ages some such have been) there were those that would dare, and do many forgetful pranks, the blame whereof still was laid on the Prince his shoulders, whose greatness was able to countenance their great follies, which he many times (and not unwillingly) did undergo. At length being informed that two things were necessary for a Christian to observe, Credit and Conscience; the one for his acquaintance sake, the other for his own; and that he would be censured to be cruel to himself, if that he neglected the opinion of others, as relying only on the assurance of his own Conscience; he resolved to give this satisfaction to the World, that such as had given his Father intimation of any sinister intention on his part, were in an error undeniable: he first by several Letters of his own both inditing and writing, expostulated with such as he knew to be guilty of doing ill offices betwixt him and his Father, laying before them the unsufferable wrongs done unto him, that had devised to discredit him in those misreports. And lastly, upon the nine and twentieth day of *June*, with a train of all his friends and servants, the number whereof was very great, in a garment of blew Sattin, wrought all with eyletholes of black silk, at every hole the needle hanging by which it was sowed, and about his arm a thing in fashion of an hounds collar, studded with S. S. of gold, and the tyrots of the same, he came to the Kings Court at *Westminster*; where being entred into the Hall, according as he had formerly given direction, not one of his company advanced himself (though often by the Kings servants requested) above the fire-place, he himself, attended by the Kings own servants only, was brought into the presence: the King (though afflicted with sickness) caused himself in a Chair to be brought into the Privy Chamber, where in presence of but three or four of his Privy Council, he demanded of the Prince the cause of his so unwonted habit and coming; to whom the Prince with a most humble and filial reverence upon his knees said, Dread Sovereign and dear Father, thus prostrate upon my knees, as a loyal Subject and dutiful Son, with all befitting humiliation, and requirable reverence, I render my self in all things liable to your command.

Having of late received information, by the relation of some nearest about your Majesty, that my forgetful carriage hath given unto your Grace cause of suspicion, that my heart should not be right, nor my affections toward your Highness so placed, as duty and obedience on my part do require and expect; and being assured, that if I knew any one within your Kingdom of whom your Highness should justly have cause to stand in fear, that I hold my self bound by the Law of God and nature to punish that person, and, *quantum in me est*, to remove the cause of doubt from your heart; now much more then is that requirable by the Laws of filial respect, and natural proximity of blood and duty, that I your Son and servant, in my own particular am ty'd to prevent the least suspicion of unthankfulness in me, and danger thereby to you, should, for the better securing your quiet, tender my life as a forfeit to your Highness, for giving cause of question of Loyalty to you, that that being taken away, and the ground of your jealousy being removed, you might with more security enjoy the quiet of an undisturbed mind.

To

To this end, having this Morning with a Christian preparation of humble Confession, and receiving the blessed Sacrament of the blood and passion of my Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, fitted my self to be made a sacrifice, to exterminate your jealousie, I have presumed to approach your seat of Majesty; and therefore I humbly beseech you to ease your Heart, and hereby to take assurance of your future quiet, by giving a period to my grief and your fear; and to give this Ponyard a passage thorow my Heart (and therewithal reached his dagger, holding it by the point, to his Father) for I desire not to live longer, than to be justly thought to be what I am, and shall ever be your faithful and obedient Vassal, which if you shall vouchsafe to do here in the presence of your Nobility, I do clearly forgive the fact in this World, and before God and his holy Angels at the day of Judgment will acquit you thereof. These words had that penetrating property, and the King therewith was so moved, that casting the dagger away, he rose out of his chair, but for weakness not able to stand, fell upon his Sons neck, and with many tears embracing him, confessed that his Ears had been too open to receive reports against him, and promising by the love of a Father, and the faith of a King, from thenceforth that misreport should not cause his disaffection; he assured him, that at the next Parliament those whisperers against him should undergo the censure of their Peers, and stand at his mercy for the scandals by them against him raised; to whom the Prince replied, God forgive them, I do; and so with general content they departed.

And from that time forth, until his departure out of this life, the King enjoyed a calm from all hostility, either at home or abroad; and to express his great thankfulness to God, for this his greater goodness to him, he took upon him the *Crusado*; and complaining of the inconsiderate courses of the Princes of Christendom, that were more intentive to waste and weary one another with intestine and civil broils, rather than to joyn hand in hand to oppose themselves against the common Enemy of their Faith, the Turk; (whereto he was persuaded that in conscience they were bound) To animate them therefore by his example to do the like, he made great preparations both of Men, Mony and Amunition, for that service, with intention the next Spring to set forward to recover *Jerusalem*. To this purpose he called a Council in the *White Friars*, where order was taken for the provision of all things ready for the voyage by Sea to the Holy Land; and convoked a Parliament to begin on *Candlemas* day following: And now all things being ready for the expedition against the Turks, the Enemy of mankind seized upon him with an Apoplexy, the fits whereof divers times would shew him dead to those about him, yet ever upon his recovery again of sense, he would demand for his Crown, which he appointed all the time of his sickness to be placed on a cushion in his sight: At length the extremity of the Disease increasing, he lay as though all his vital spirits had forsaken him, in so much that those that were about him deemed him dead, and covered his Face. The Prince having notice thereof, came and took away the Crown, and departed; the Father reviving, demanded for the Crown, and hearing that the Prince had taken it, he sends for him, and angerly demandeth his reason of his so doing; to whom the Prince with a confident brow made answer, That in his and all Mens judgment there present he was dead, and then I being next Heir apparent to the same, took it as my indubitate right, not as yours, but mine; well said the King, and sighed, Fair Son, what right I had to it, God knoweth: But, saith the Prince, if you die King,

An. 1411  
R. 11.

The King and  
Prince reconciled.

The King having taken  
upon him the  
*Crusado*; pre-  
pareth accordingly.



An. 1412.  
R. 13.

The death of  
Henry the IV.

An. 1412.  
R. 13.

that said on T  
month  
half

1.

2.

3.

4.

I doubt not to hold the Garland, as you have done, with my Sword, against all opposers: Then said the King, I refer all to God, but charge thee on my blessing, and as thou wilt answer it before the Tribunal of God; that thou minister the Laws indifferently; that thou ease the oppressed; that thou avoid flatterers; that thou do not defer Justice, nor be sparing of Mercy, but punish the Oppressors of thy People, and suffer not Officers to make their places the stalking-horses to their will; so that thou obtain favour of God, and love of thy Subjects, who whilst they have wealth, so long shall thou have Obedience; but being made poor by Oppression, will be ever ready to stir and make Insurrections. And so turning about, said God bless thee, and have mercy on me; and so he gave up the Ghost, in a Chamber of the Abbot of Westminster, which the servants there called *Jerusalem*, there of March, 1412. in the forty sixth year of his Age, when he had reigned thirteen years, six months, lacking ten days. His Body with all funeral pomp was conveyed to Canterbury, and there solemnly buried.

He had been twice married, his first Wife was *Mary*, Daughter and Co-heir of *Humphrey de Bohun*, Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton, and Constable of England. He died Anno 1394. and was buried at Canterbury; he had Issue by her.

*Henry* his eldest Son, who succeeded him.

*Thomas Plantagenet*, his second Son, who was created Duke of Clarence, in the eleventh year of his Father's Reign: he was slain at *Bosworth* bridge in France, by the Duke of Orleans. This *Thomas* took to Wife *Margaret* Daughter of *Thomas Holland* Earl of Kent, and Widow of *John Benford* Earl of Pomfret, who died without Issue.

*John Plantagenet*, his third Son, was made Duke of Bedford, the eleventh year of his Father's Reign, and Earl of Richmond, and Lord of Kendall; he married to his first Wife *Anne*, Daughter of *John Duke of Burgundy*, who died without Issue; his second Wife was *Jaquelline*, Daughter of *Peter* Earl of Saint Paul, and by her had no Issue; She was after married to *Richard Woodville* Earl Rivers, and had Issue *Elizabeth*, Wife to King *Edward* the Fourth. This *John*, as Constable of England, determined the controversy betwixt *Reignold* Lord Gray of Ruthen, and *Sir Edward Hastings*, for the bearing of the Arms of *Hastings*; and at *Vernoye*, together with the same Town, took the Duke of *Alanson* prisoner; and with the loss of two thousand one hundred private Souldiers, slew of the adverse part, five Earls, two Vicounts, one and twenty Barons, seven thousand French, and two thousand five hundred Scots; and died at *Paris*, the 14. of September, 1435. and was buried at *Roan*, under a sumptuous Monument; which when *Lewys* the eleventh King of France, being advised by some of his Nobles to deface, he said, What honour will it be to us or you, to demolish the Monument, and pull out thereof the Bones of him, whom in his life-time, neither my Father nor your Progenitors were of ability to make budge one Foot backward? Wherefore let his Body now rest in quiet, which if he were alive, would have disquieted the proudest of us all; such respect to well-got honour, he obtained in the minds of his Enemies.

*Humphrey Plantagenet*, fourth Son, who was styled, *Humphrey* by the grace of God, Son, Brother, and Uncle to Kings; he was Duke of Gloucester, Henault, Holland, Zealand, and Earl of Pembroke, Lord of Freezland, great Chamberlain of England, Protector of the Realm, and Defender of the Church of England. He had two Wives, the first was

*Jaquet*,

*Jaquet*, Daughter and Heir of *William* Duke of *Bavaria*, who being before betrothed to *John* Duke of *Brabant*, was divorced from this *Humphry* before Issue. His second Wife was *Elianor*, Daughter of *Reignold* Lord *Cobham* of *Sterburgh* in *Surry*, who for Sorcery and Poysoning was much defamed. He was found murdered in his bed at *Bury* in *Suffolk*, and was buried at *Saint Albanes* in *Hartfordshire*.

An. 1412.  
R. 13.

*Blanch*, King *Henry's* eldest Daughter, was married, as afore, at *Collen*, to *William* Duke of *Bavaria*; after his death she was married to the King of *Arragon*, and afterwards to the Duke of *Barre*, but died without Issue.

Two Daughters.

*Philip*, second Daughter of King *Henry*, was married to *John* King of *Denmark*, but died without Issue.

King *Henry's* second Wife was *Joan*, Daughter of *Charles* King of *Navarre*, and Widow of *John* Momford Duke of *Britain*; she died at *Haverling* in the Bower in *Essex*, without Issue, the 10. of *July*, 1437. and was buried at *Canterbury*.

King *Henry* was of a middle stature, well proportioned, and formally compact; of a quick conceit and active spirit, of great resolution and courage. In his later days, with courtesie and affable cariage, he purchased a great deal more love and respect amongst the Nobility, than he had in all the beginning of his Reign with his austeritey and rigorous courses, and redeemed from the common people a great portion of good opinion, which he by his Impositions and Taxes had formerly lost among them: But if their payments had been more, and his exactions greater, in my opinion they were not undeserved, that were so ready to alter the due course of Succession, to joyn Hands with him in the deposing of the rightful and natural Liege-Lord, whose only fault, that could be truly objected, was this, that he had been too bountiful to his Friends, too merciful to his Foes, but most unrespective of himself.



THE  
LIFE and REIGN  
OF  
King HENRY V.

An. 1413.  
R. 1.



King Henry  
taketh leave  
of his ancient  
companions.

HENRY the Fifth, surnamed ( of the place of his Birth, which was a Town in *Wales*, upon the River of *Wye* ) *Monmouth*, took upon him the Regality over *England*, the 20 day of *March*, and the next day was Proclaimed King; and the ninth day of *April* he was Crowned King at *Westminster*, by *Thomas of Arundel*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with all usual Rites and Ceremonies. After the solemnity past, the next day he caused all his wonted Companions to come into his presence, to whom he used these words; it is sufficient that for many years together I have fashioned my self to your unruly dispositions, and have ( not without some reluctance in the very action ) followed you in your debosht and swaggering courses; I have to my sorrow and shame, I may say, to think of it, irregularly wandred in all rude and unseemly manner, in the vast wilderness of riot and unthriftiness, whereby I was made almost an alien to the Hearts of my Father and Allies, and, in their opinions, violently carried away by your means, from grace, by keeping you company; therein I have so vilipended my self, that in the Eyes of Men my presence was vulgar and stale; and like the Cuckow in *June*, heard, but not regarded. One of you being convented before the Lord Chief Justice, for misusing a sober-minded Citizen, I went to the publick Sessions house, and strook him on the Face, and being by him deservedly committed to the *Fleet* ( for which act of Justice I shall ever hold him worthy the place, and my favour, and wish all my Judges to have the like undaunted courage, to punish offenders, of what rank soever ) it occasioned my Father to put me from my place in Council, appointing it to be supplied by my younger Brother. How often have I, by your animation, committed thefts, even on my Fathers and my own Receivers, and robbed them of the mony provided for publick appointments, to maintain your midnight revellings, and noon-befellings; but it is time now to give a period to these exorbitant and unfitting courses, and to salve the wounds my intemperance hath made in my reputation, and to turn over a new leaf; and not only to decline the company of such misleaders of youth, but desert their conditions; I straightly therefore charge and command you, and every one of you, that from henceforth, until you have settled your selves in a more orderly course of life, and

and redeemed your pawn'd credits, with fair and regarded behaviour, hereafter upon pain of forfeiture of your Heads, not to appear in my presence, nor to come within the verge of my Court: For what is past I will grant you my Pardon; and withal, because I know sometimes necessity will cripple honesty, I will allow each of you a competency of maintenance, as a stock to begin a course whereby to live orderly hereafter: But take heed of relapsing, for the least just complaint of ill behaviour of any of you hereafter, if proved, shall forfeit your pardons, and exclude my favour for ever: which resolution of mine I will never break: and so without attending any reply, he departed. And afterwards, to shew others the way, he disposed himself to a new course of deportment, qualifying his carriage with such magnanimous and heroical virtues, as might best become the person of so great a Potentate: and knowing that howsoever we ought to live by Laws, and not by Examples, yet Mans nature is presently carried away with Imitation, he preferred to places of Judicature, and publick administration of Justice, such as were truly Noble, Wise, Discreet, Modest and Temperate, well able to Command others, and to Rule themselves; out of which he selected a choice number of the ablest Brains, to be of his Privy Council. He industriously endeavoured to reform the Pride, Covetousness, Sloth, and other abuses crept among the Clergy, enjoying them to more regular Life, and sincere serving of Almighty God; commanding the reformation of Disorders, renovation of Discipline, punishment of Irregularity, and amendment of Life: And with moderate severity caused such administrations of the Laws to be made, both Spirituality and Laity, tractable to the performance of their several duties: Then to establish safety at home, that he might not be molested either with the Welsh or Scots, he erected divers Fortifications and Bulwarks upon their Frontiers, and furnished them both with necessaries, and able Commanders, so that he was still powerfully ready to suppress all Insurrections or Rebellions that might be attempted from thence.

Immediately after *Easter* he called a Parliament, but in the *interim*, most of the Nobility before his Coronation (an unusual course, never before done) did strive to out-go each other in forward, tender, and doing their homage, all most willingly Swearing to him Allegiance, and doing Fealty. On *Trinity Sunday* the Obsequies of his Father were solemnly performed, himself and most of the Nobility being at *Canterbury*, at the Offering present.

Shortly after he caused the Body of King *Richard* the Second to be brought from *Langley* to *Westminster*, and there buried with great Solemnity, by his first Wife Queen *Anne*.

About this time the opinion of *Wickliff* (notwithstanding the care taken to suppress it by the Wisdom of the Parliament, and the courses appointed in their Convocation-house by the Clergy) began to be generally dispersed, in so much that Sir *John Oldcastle*, in right of his Wife, called in courtesie, Lord *Cobham*, a Man of a bold and resolute disposition, and a stout Souldier, was Convented before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for broching and maintaining many novel Positions, against the received Tenet of the Church, the tenor of whose accusation, was by *Henry Chicheley*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, presented unto the King; who in commiseration of the Knight, required the Prelates, that if he were a strayed Sheep, to reduce him to the fold, rather by gentle courses than severity: And himself afterwards sending

An. 1413.  
R. 1.

The forward-  
ness of the  
Nobility to  
tender their  
homage.

The Lord Old-  
castle Conven-  
ted.



An. 1413.  
R. 1.

ing for him, did earnestly exhort him to reconcile himself to God and the Church, and to submit himself to the Constitutions thereof; but Sir *John*, first by word of mouth, then by writing, seemed to justify his assertions, affirming, that his Grace was supream Head, and his competent Judge, and no other; and that he would come to his purgation with an hundred Knights and Esquires, or fight in defence of his just cause in open List.

Oldcastle escaped out of the Tower.

But the King by his Counsel being informed, That by the Law, accusations touching questions of belief, ought to be tried by the Spiritual Jurisdiction, he sent him to the Tower of *London*: And afterward upon the three and twentieth day of *September*, a Convocation was held in the Church of *S. Paul* in *London*, and upon the five and twentieth day following, another in the Hall of the *Black-friers*, in which places the Lord *Cobham* was fully heard to vent a Spittle of diseased opinions, and thereupon was by the Archbishop convicted of Heresie, and denounced an Heretick, and remanded back to the Tower, from whence he escaped and fled into *Wales*.

An. 1414.  
R. 2.

The King keeping his Court and Christmas at *Elvetham*, was advertised that divers had conspired against Him, his Brethren, and the Bishops; and that Sir *Roger Acton* Knight, *John Brown* Esquire, and *John Beverley* Clerk, were with a great company in Arms, on the backside of Saint *Giles*, assembled for that purpose. Whereupon the King secretly posted to *London*, and drawing some Companies of Souldiers together, he laid an ambush, near the place, where the Conspirators, about twelve of the clock at Night, were appointed to make their Rendezvous, where accordingly many of them were taken, and some slain. The Mayor of *London* likewise according to directions, gave order to every Alderman in his several Ward, to apprehend all suspicious persons; himself about ten of the clock at Night in person, took at *Bishopgate*, at the Sign of the Ax there, one *John Burgate*, a Carpenter, and seven other, whom he sent to the King, before whom they confessed, that they were of the Confederacy with Sir *John Oldcastle*, to have fought with the King in Saint *Giles's* field. The Captain likewise of the Commotion being taken, confessed the Treason, and impeached many of their Complices. The Gates of *London* were watcht and guarded, so that none had passage without the Word; by which means all their partakers there were kept from coming forth; divers being met upon the ways, coming from sundry parts of the Realm, upon examination confessed, that they came to meet their Captain, the Lord *Cobham*; but he could not be heard of, though the King by Proclamation offered a thousand Marks to him that could bring him; besides large privileges to the Town where he should be attached. Amongst other, there was one *William Morley* of *Dunstable* taken, who discovered what was the chiefest motive of that Commotion, which was pride and ambition of preferment; for he being but a Maltster, had two Horses trapped with gilt harness led after him, and a pair of gilt spurs in his bosom, an ornament for none in those days, under the degree of a Knight, to wear; for he it seems was promised, and assured himself of Knighthood at the least. The Ring-leaders were attaint of Heresie by the Clergy, and of high Treason by the Laity; whereupon they were condemned to be hanged and burnt Gallows and all; which judgment was accordingly executed upon Sir *Roger Acton*, and eight and twenty of the Rebels in *Smithfield*; most of the Prisons in and about *London*, were filled with these Lob-lords, or Lollards, which nick-name, saith *Tritemius*, was deduced at first from one *Gualter Lolhard*, a German, howsoever *Linwood* deri-

Punishment of Treason and Heresie.

venth

vetit it a loto, quia sicut lotum inficit segetes, sic Lollardi multos inficiunt fideles simplices inter quos conversantur.

An. 1414.  
R. 2.

In this time the Parliament continuing, the King (as his Father was before) was much importuned, by some somewhat infected with *OLLARD'S* Opinion, and therefore not well pleased with the greatness of the Clergy, to suppress the Religious House of this Kingdom, because, as they affirmed, they were made the Nurseries of Idleness, and Cages of unclean Birds. To divert this storm into another quarter, it was advised that *Chicheley*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, should set on foot the Kings Title to *France*, which thus he sets forth.

*Philip* the fourth, called *Philip* the Fair, eldest Brother of *Charles* Earl of *Valois*, was the forty sixth King of *France*; he married *Joan*, Queen of *Navarre*, and by her had issue, three sons.

*Lewis*, surnamed *Hutyn*, or *Mutynere*.

*Philip* the Long, and

*Charles* the Fair: and one only Daughter, christned *Isabel*, which was married to your Majesties Predecessor, *Edward* the second; she survived her three Brothers, who successively, one after the other, had enjoyed the Crown of *France*. But after the death of *Charles*, upon a pretended fundamental Law of that Kingdom, *Philip* of *Valois*, Son of *Charles* the younger Brother of *Philip* the Fair, endeavouring to exclude all Females from Sovereign inheritance, laid hold of the Imperial Diadem, against whom, in right of his Mother, *Edward* the third opposed, and quartering the Arms, which was *Semi de lucas*, proclaimeth his Title to be King of *France* and *England*, and in hostile manner entered *France* with Banners displayed, where he performed those honourable exploits, that whilst any Records last, can never be forgotten; there he continued victorious during the time of *Valois*, and left his Son, the Black Prince, to prosecute his Claim, who, to his eternal Commendations, did so, that he took not only *John* the French King prisoner, but braved *Charles* the fifth, at his great City of *Paris*, to his teeth, and unanswered, the wise King thinking it no good policy to meet a roaring Lion in the Field, and had not God, on whose will depends all things, staid this ever to be renowned Prince in his course, by stopping his Breath, the Question had long since been decided, and *England* had totally brought *France* to subjection; but he being dead, and his Father but a short time surviving, left his Grand-son, an Infant, to finish what his Father and Grand father had so happily commenced, and so gloriously had continued: But unless the Lord build the House the Work-men Labour but in vain; so the Lord displeased with the disorder of those times, gave *France* a time to breath and gather strength, and opportunity to *Charles* the sixth to change the Arms of *France* from the *Semi de lucas*, to the three Flower-de lucas, yet is the Title to *France* the same that it was before; and though your Royal Father otherwise employed, did not prosecute the Claim, yet he did not disclaim the Right, but hath to you (for whom I rest assured God hath reserved Victory) both left that, and the means to obtain it. Then went he on learnedly and pathetically, and refuted that unjust surmise of the Salick Law, both by reason and example; and first whereas, in *terram Salicam mulieres ne succedant*, was the Text whereon they build their position; he proved that that was made in *Germany*, in disdain of the dishonest manners of the German Women, and had no relation to *France*; for that *Pharamond*, whom they affirmed to be maker of that Law deceased above three hundred



A. 1414.  
R. 1.

Motives for  
the King to  
lay claim to  
the Crown of  
France.

Embassadors  
sent to France.

hundred and fifty years before the Frenchmen were placed beyond the River *Sala*, the one dying at 426. and the other being seated there *Anno* 805. And for example, he cited *Pepyn*, *Hugh Capet*, and others, who neither had right, nor colour-like right to the Crown of *France*, but as Heirs general, as their own Stories manifest: he fortified likewise his assertions with Scripture out of the Book of *Numbers*, *When a Man dieth without a Son, let his Inheritance descend unto the Daughter*: To this he added, That if the King would be pleased to advance his Banner in *France*, to challenge his rightful Inheritance, the War being just, the Cause good, and his Claim undeniable, his Clergy would furnish him, of their own free gift, with such a mass of Money, as never Subjects at one time presented King with the like. This motion took on all sides, and the offer of Money wherewith to pay the Souldiers, so pleased the King, that nothing was now thought of but the Conquest of *France*. He begins therefore to alter the bearing of his *Semi de Lucet*, and quarters what the then French King bare; and then sendeth the Duke of *Exeter*, the Archbishop of *Dublin*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord high Admiral, and the Bishop of *Norwich*, with five hundred Horse, Embassadors to *Charles* the Sixth, to require in peaceable manner (for the avoiding the effusion of Christian blood) the surrender of the Crown of *France*, with the Members thereof; which if the King would yield unto, then King *Henry* would be pleased to take to Wife *Katherine* the Daughter of *Charles*, and endow her with all the Dutchies belonging to the Crown of *France*: but if *Charles* refused so to do, that then *Henry* would with Fire and Sword inforce it from him, or lose his life. The strangeness of this message amazed the King, and amuzed his Council: they craved time to answer, and the King of *France* promised to speed Embassadors with his answer to the King of *England*.

Embassadors  
sent to the  
Council at  
*Constance*.

The *Dolphin*, like one that cuts another Man meat and his own Fingers, having wit, but wanting discretion, deriding as it were the King of *Englands* youth, as deeming him fitter to play, than to attempt matters of such consequence, sent him a Tun of Tennis balls: which King *Henry* distasting, promised with an Oath, before many months were past, to toss such iron Balls among them, that the best Arms in *France* should be unable to hold a Racket to return them. And forthwith due provision being made, and all things prepared, he draws together his Forces; and in his absence to secure the *Scots* and *Welsh* from attempting his prejudice, he appointeth an Army to attend the Marches, and upon all alarms to be ready; he ordains his Mother in Law *Joan* Daughter of *Charles* King of *Arragon*, Governor in his absence; and whilst he is dispatching, he sends *Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, the Bishops of *Salisbury*, *Bath* and *Hereford*, with the Abbot of *Westminster*, to the general Council appointed at *Constance*.

The *Dolphin* sent as Embassadors (the King of *France* being weak and sickly) the Earl of *Vandome*, with others; who having audience, the Archbishop of *Bruges* made a long Oration in praise of Peace, and dissuaded War, concluding with a tender of the Lady *Katherine* with a sum of money, and some Towns of no great wealth or importance. The King of *England* Feasts them at his own Table, and intertains them Royally, and took order with the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to give them answer to this effect. That if the King of *France* would not give his Daughter, and with her the Lands and Seigniories demanded, that he would not disband, but, with all extremities that follow War, prosecute his right, and never give

give over till he had recovered his Patrimony, or lost his life, the King avowing the Archbishops speeches, promising by the word of a Prince to perform the same, and to visit them sooner than they should have cause to bid him welcome, and so he dismissed them. All things prepared and in readiness for *France*, as the King (having shipt his men) was ready to go on ship-board himself, a Plot of Treason is discovered, set on foot by *Richard Earl of Cambridge*, *Henry Lord Scroope of Masbam*, Lord Treasurer, and *Sir Thomas Gray of Northumberland*, and plotted and procured by the *French Agents*: These he caused to be apprehended; and upon examination they confessed the Treason, and the sum of money by them to that end received, and were immediately executed. This *Richard of Connesburgh*, second Son of *Edmond of Langley*, married *Anne*, Sister and Heir of *Edmond Mortimer Earl of March*, and had issue, *Richard Earl of Cambridge*, Duke of *Tork*, and *Isabel*, married to *Henry Lord Bourchier Earl of Essex*. Some gather, and I must confess it is somewhat probable, that the *Earl of Cambridge* was not so merenary, as to commit Treason for money, but would have confessed the cause, had it not been for fear to bring the *Earl of March* in question, that his Title was by him and others intended to have been set on foot, and strongly backt by *Sir John Oldcastle* and others, if not, as afore, prevented; but hereby were the sparkes discerned, that afterwards blazed so ragingly over the *Lancastrian Family*.

An. 1414.  
R. 2.

The wind blowing a fair gale, King *Henry* weighs Anchor, and with his whole fleet puts to Sea, and on our Lady Evelandeth at *Caux*, where the River of *Sayne* runneth into the Sea: without resistance being come on shore, he caused Proclamation to be made, that none, upon pain of death, should take any thing out of any Church or Chappel, or offer any violence to any that should be found unarmed, and that no quarrel should be renewed whereby any affray may be made. Then lays he Siege to *Harflew*, the Lords *Touteville* and *Gaucourts* being within the same. The *French King*, advertised of the arrival of the *English*, sent the Constable, the Seneschal, and Marshal of *France*, with others, to the Castle of *Candebeck*, from thence, as occasion should be offered, to relieve *Harflew*: but the *English* ceased not daily to forrage, whilst the Duke of *Glocester*, to whom the ordering of the Siege was committed, ceased not to ply the battery, and so kept them in the Town waking with continual assaults.

The King arrives in  
*France*.

*Harflew* besieged.

The Captains of the Town, perceiving that they were not able long to hold out, the Walls being undermined, and the Earls of *Huntington* and *Kent* posselt of the breast, and thereon had pitcht their Colours, about midnight sent to crave parley: whereupon the Duke of *Exeter*, the Lord *Fitzburgh*, and *Sir Thomas Erpingham*, were sent with this instruction, that if they would not instantly surrender the Town without condition, there should no time be spent in communication; yet upon the Lords importunity, the King gave them five days respite, in which time, if no rescue came, they should surrender the Town into the Kings hand, and for their Lives and Goods to stand to the Kings mercy. Hereupon the Lord *Bacqueville* was sent to the *French King* to acquaint him with the composition, but no relief coming, they surrendred within three days; the Souldiers were ransomed, and the Town sacked: the Duke of *Exeter* was appointed Captain thereof, who left there for his Lieutenant *Sir John Falstaff* with fifteen hundred men. The dead of Winter approaching, the King caused all those Souldiers, that had not payed their ransoms, to swear to render themselves Prisoners at

*Harflew* taken.

*Callice*



An. 1414.  
R. 2.

*Callice* at the Feast of Saint *Martin* following: whereupon two Forts which stood on the North side of *Harflew*, which till then expecting aid stood out, rendred likewise: and then, having repaired the Bulwark, and furnished it with all things necessary, he marched to *Porthouse*, intending to pass the River there before the Bridges were broken.

The *Dolphin* had taken order to carry into places of safety all kind of provision which might be useful for the relief of the *English*; But King *Henry* kept on his way, enforcing the Towns as he went to supply his wants; and coming to the River of *Soame*, he found all the Bridges broken, and the Foords stakt: he marched to *Arams* in that orderly manner, that the Enemy durst not offer to impeach his passage, until he came to the Bridge of Saint *Maxene*, where thirty thousand *French* appearing, he pitcht his Camp, expecting to be fought with; where, the more to encourage his men, he gave the order of Knighthood to *John Lord Ferrers of Groby*, *Reignold Graystock*, *Percy Tempest*, *Christopher Morish*, *Thomas Pickering*, *William Hadvesten*, *John Holbalton*, *Henry Mortimer*, and divers others: But not perceiving the *French* to have any great will to come on, he marched by the Town of *Amiens* to another place of strength called *Bomes*, and there stayed two dayes, expecting battel: and from thence marched to *Corby*, where the Peasants in multitudes (relying upon their numbers, and the aid of the Garrisons of *Corby*) gave the King a Camifado; and having forestald the passage in a streight, with certain men of Arms, sent from the *Dolphin*, they charged the Right Wing of the *English*, which was led by *Sir Hugh Stafford* Lord *Bombier*, so hotly, that they won away his Standard: but the same was again recovered by *John Bromley* of *Bromley*, who being a Commander in *Staffords* Regiment, not only made the retiring Troops to stand, but, renewing the fight, with his own sword slew him that had the Lord *Bombiers* Colours; and taking them up, displayed the same, with fight whereof the *English* were so much encouraged, that they fell in with that vehemence upon the *French*, that they presently routed and fled: the Lord *Stafford* recompenced the valiant exploit of his Kinsman, and for the same gave to him an Annuity of fifty pounds per annum, assigned out of all his Lands in *Stafford-shire*, as by the enrolment of that deed is extant; the Seal is a Cheuron charged with a Mullet, about the same engraven, *Signa Hugonis de Stafford militis*.

The Peasants  
assailed King  
Henry.

Pro recuperatione  
signi sui.

The same night, after the retreat sounded, the King found a shallow Foord betwixt *Corby* and *Peron*, never spied before, at which the night following he passed safe, making what march he could without *Alse* towards *Callice*. Notwithstanding the extremities which attend his Army, marching through an Enemies Countrey, where no forrage could be found, and small store of pillage, yet did the King so strictly observe the due performance of his first Proclamation, against Church-robbing, that hearing one complained of to the Marshal, for having stoln, or, as the phrase of them is, made booty of a silver Pix out of the Church, he not only caused the same to be restored, but the Souldier also to be hanged; which due justice at that time done, kept the rest from offending in that kind, and provoked the people under-hand to relieve his men with necessaries.

The *French* King, hearing that King *Henry* had pass'd the River *Soame*, assembled his Council, whereof thirty five appearing, to the point in question; thirty of them advised, that the *English* should not depart without being fought with: but five (whereof the *Dolphin* was one) were of a contrary

trary opinion; and though they assented not, yet by the major voyces enforced to consent. *Montjoy* the *French* King at Arms, was sent to defie the King of *England*, as an Enemy to *France*, and to tell him he should be fought with. King *Henry's* answer was, he was unwilling to provoke Battel, yet too confident in God to fear it; by whose good leave, he would proceed in his journey: and if the *French*, or any other would oppose him, if he could not find his way, he would make it, or his Sword should fail him: and so suffered the Herald (being well rewarded) to depart. King *Henry* having notice, that he must of force pass another River in his way, over which there was but one passable Bridge; he commanded certain Troops of Horse to go thither on the spur, and some foot Companies to speed thither, to second them, and to make good the same until the Army should come. When the horse came thither, they found the *French* very busie in breaking down the bridge; but perceiving the approach of the *English*, they left their work and fled. The passage being cleared, upon the two and twentieth of *October*, the King of *England* passed over with his Army.

The Duke of *York*, that led the rereward, sent word to the King, that his Skowts had discovered the Enemy to come on apace; whereupon he made a stand, and gave direction to the Officers, what course to take, to acquaint their Souldiers, that to fly would but cause a lingring death; for their flight would be out of the pan into the fire, there being no place of refuge near; and the way thither (if any were) was altogether unknown. And so mounting on horseback, he road from place to place, assuring them of his resolution to live and die with them; and so with his word and countenance, he so encouraged his men, that they were generally resolved to conquer or die; and accordingly prepared themselves; reconciling themselves to God by confession, and receiving the Sacrament; and lastly, embracing each other with constant protestations, to be firm and faithful one to the other: so upon *Friday* the five and twentieth of *October*, being derayned in order of Battel, they attended the signal to begin.

The Constable of *France* divided his Companies into three Battels; In the first were placed eight thousand men at Arms, four thousand Archers, and fifteen hundred Crossbowes; the Wings consisting of two thousand two hundred men at Arms: this Battel was led by himself, the Dukes of *Orleance*, and *Burbon*, the Earls of *Ewe*, *Richmond*, and *Vandosme*, the Lord *Dampier*, the Admiral of *France*, the Marshal *Bouciqualle*, and others.

2. The middle Battel, wherein were more men at Arms, was commanded by the Dukes of *Barre* and *Alanson*, and by the Earls of *Varmont*, *Salings*, *Blamont*, *Grantpee*, and *Rusey*.

3. In the rereward were all the remainder of the *French* Forces, and guided by the Earls of *Marle*, *Dampmortyne*, *Fauconbridge*, and the Lord *Lourey*, Captain of *Ards*. The *Frenchmen* thus ordered, consisting of sixfold the Number of the *English*, thought of nothing but the booty they should get. In the mean time, King *Henry* having made choice of a piece of ground, half fenced on his back with the Village wherein they had encamped the night before, on both sides having strong hedges and ditches, began there to order his Battels: But first he appointed an ambush of two hundred bold Archers which should upon a watch-word given, make a whole flight upon the flank of the Enemies Horse. The Vantguard consisting of Archers only, was conducted by the Duke of *York*, who out of a brave and heroick courage, had made entreaty for that place; with him were the Lords

K

Beaumont,

An. 1414  
R. 2,The order of  
the Battel of  
the *French*.The Duke of  
*York* leads  
the *English*  
Vantguard.



An. 1414.  
R. 2.

*Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fanhop.* The main Battel was led by the King in person, which consisted of Bill-men, and some Bow-men: With him were the Duke of *Glocester*, his Brother the Earl Marshal, *Oxford* and *Suffolk*.

The rereward was led by *Thomas Duke of Exeter*, the Kings Uncle, consisting of all sorts of weapons; the Horsemen as Wings Guarded the Companies on both sides.

The King to prevent the fury of the *French* Cavalry, by the direction of the Duke of *York*, appointed divers Stakes, shod with iron at both ends, of six foot long, to be pitched behind the Archers, and appointed the Pioners to attend, to remove them, as occasion and direction gave order. These things thus ordered, publick Prayers were humbly made, and the onset was expected; which was presently performed by the *French* horsemen, who gave on with a furious bravado; but Sir *Walter Orpington*, who was thereunto appointed, giving the signal, the *English* gave a great shout, whereupon according to direction, the Bow-men behind the hedges sent forth such a shower of Arrows, that the *French* horse thereby galled, were so unruly, that their riders could not force them to give against the ditch, to come at those that were beyond the ditch. Whereupon the Vantguard of the *English*, taking advantage of their disorder, made forward, and poured another volley of Arrows among them, by means whereof the horse thoroughly galled either cast their riders, or through their unruliness so opened their ranks, that the Right Wing of the *English* horse gave in so manly, that the *French* horse disorderly retiring, broke the array of their foot, who were miserably trod down, and disranked with their own company. By this the two hundred Bow-men having emptied their quivers, flung away their Bowes, and with their Swords fell upon the Enemy, and wresting from them their own weapons, made a great slaughter among them: and putting the Vantguard to flight, they adventured upon the middle Battel, which the *French* horsemen taking in scorn to be charged with so small a company, bravely gave on. Whereupon the *English* made shew of retiring; but when they came where the Bowmen were impaled with the Armed Stakes, they made a stand: and as the horsemen were thereby gored, they were ready to help them forward with a pat on the pate, with a brown Bill, to their last home; whereby their main Battel was broken and disordered; when presently the King with his main Battel gave on with that resolution, that himself in Person charged the duke of *Alanson*, by whom he was in his carere well-nie unhorsed: but afterward he having slain two of the Dukes men that were nearer to him than the Duke; he charged the Duke again, and with his Sword beat him from his horse, whom the Kings Guard, notwithstanding the King cryed out to the contrary, slew out-right; and with his fall the main Battel of the *French* first gave ground, then turned their backs, and lastly flung away their weapons and fled. The Kings Rear being come up, they all fell upon the Rereguard of the *French*, which consisted of the greater number, but the weakest men, and the worst armed; but their courage with long standing was dropt to their knees, so that many of them humbled themselves thereon and submitted to mercy; the rest presuming that the *English* with three hours fight, for so long the Battel continued, could not be able to follow, manfully ran away. In the mean time, certain of the *French* horsemen, of those that ran first away, led on by *Robinet Bondile*, and the Captain of *Agin-court*, presuming to redeem their credit, from running away from Souldiers, by fighting with boys, set upon the Pages and Laundresses, and sick

The beginning of the fight.

The disorder of the French.

The *English* having routed the Van, charge the Battel of the French.

The French submit

sick Souldiers that were left in the Camp, who gave such a lamentable shriek, that King Henry supposed either that the Constable had rallied his Troops, or that some fresh Succors had been come: howsoever he supposed he must have a second fight; he caused therefore all the Arrows that were sticking in the field to be gathered, and the stakes to be plucked up, and prepared ready to be again used: amongst whom was found the Duke of York miserably hacked and slain; the sight whereof, and the danger of a second charge, made King Henry give order, that the Prisoners should be all slain, saving such as were principal Men, and those were all bound back to back, and so left; neither could the King be for this justly taxed of cruelty, for this killing his Enemies in cold Blood, when the number of the Prisoners exceeded his Souldiers, and the uncertainty of either their honesty, or the Enemies hardiment, that were then expected to charge them, could give the King no assurance of safety without their slaughter. Then the King again embattelled his weary, but willing Souldiers; upon whom the Earls of Marle and Fauconbridge, with six hundred good Men at Arms, which had stood still all day, gave a brave charge, and had they had more number, they would have troubled King Henry, but being so few, and the stakes having galled so many of their Horses, they were quickly dispatched; but to their honour, it is recorded, that they fought valiantly, and died honorably; all being slain or taken, and slew more of the English, than the whole Army had done. The King being satisfied by the skouts, that no Enemy was to be seen, caused the Army in their array, as they were to give God thanks for the Victory, causing the Clergy present to sing the Psalm of David, *In exitu Israel de Egypto*; and made Proclamation, that every one at the verse, *Non nobis Domine, sed nobis tuo da gloriam*, should kneel upon their knees, and the Horsemen to bow their bodies, and then singing *Te Deum*, and other holy Hymns, they marched to the Enemies Camp, where they found plenty of all things; with which, having well refreshed themselves, the King gave them liberty to make booty, and take the spoil.

Next day came Mountjoy, and four Haralds more, to have leave to give the dead burial, and to know the number of the slain; which (after he had feasted them at their Country-mens cost) he granted unto them: with whom the English Haralds were appointed to search, who made return, that there were slain 12000 and odd, whereof 126 were of the Nobility, bearing Banners; there were of Knights and Gentlemen of Coat-armor 7874 whereof 500 were Knighted the Night before the Battail; and of the common Souldiers about 1600. Amongst the slain of the Nobility, were Ch. le Brets, high Constable, Jaques of Chatillon, Admiral of France, the great Master of France, the Master of the Cross-bows, the Dukes of Alanson, Brabant, Bar, the Earls of Nevers, Marle, Vaudmont, Beaumont, Grandper, Ronsay, Fauconbridge, Foy, and Lestrenck. There were taken Prisoners, Charles Duke of Orleans, John Duke of Bourbon, the Lords Donvert, Fosseux, Humiers, Roy, Cawny, Flamcourt, Noell, Bonciqualt, and many others.

On the English part were slain, \* Edward Duke of York, and the Earl of Suffolk, and not full 600 of all; who were all buried in Christian burial. But Philip Earl Choroloys was out of charity inforced at his own cost, to bury in a square plot of ground of his own, of 1500 yards compass, in three graves by poll accounted 5800 and odd Souldiers, and yet sent many yet alive, though grievously wounded, to *Vall merfens de diu*.

King Henry having well refreshed himself and Souldiers, and laden them

An. 1415.  
R. 3.

\* Edward Plantagenet Duke of York, married Philip Daughter and Co heir of John Mahun, Lord of Dunster, but died without issue. Michael de la Pool Earl of Suffolk died without Issue also.



A.  
n. 1416.  
R. 5.

all with spoils of great value, and rich prisoners, in fair order marched to *Callice*. From whence on the sixth of *November*, with his prisoners, which according to their Oaths rendred themselves from *Harflue*, as those taken at *Agincourt*, with the dead Corps of the Duke of *Tork*, and the Earl of *Suffolk*, whereof one was buried afterward at *Fordinghey*, the other at new *Elme*; he set sail and arrived at *Dover* the same day: after his landing he gave straight order, that no Ballad or Songs should be made or sung, more than of thansgiving to the Lord, for his happy victory, and safe return; and that nothing that might tend to ostentation, or boasting of the valiant, or cowardly act of any in that service, should be either said or sung. Never the less, the shame of his ill daring thoughts, did so vilely vex the *Dolphin*, that he died suddenly.

*Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*, Captain of *Harflue*, with three hundred *English*, made a road into *Normandy*, and returning laden with prey, was incountr'd by the Earl of *Arminacke*, with five thousand Horse, who took their booty from them over-night; but in the Morning, when they indeavoured, from out the vantage of a thick inclosed Orchard, wherein they had rested all Night to march away, they were eistoons charged by the *French*, whom with a desperate resolution they entertained, and in that manner behaved themselves, that they not only escaped safe to *Harflue*, but recovered a great part of the lost booty, and made a great slaughter of their Enemies, and returned without much loss.

*Sigismund* the Emperor, Cousin German to King *Henry*, accompanied with the Archbishop of *Remes*, Ambassador from the *French* King, arrived at *Callice*, to whom were sent thirty great Ships to waft him over. At *Dover* the Duke of *Glocester*, with a brave company of Gallants, upon his approaching to Land, with their Swords drawn, stept up to the Knees in Water, saying, If he came as the King's Friend, or for his honour to move ought he should be welcom; but if, as Emperor, he claimed any jurisdiction, they were ready to resist him to the death. Whereupon the Emperor renounceth all Imperial Authority, and is received with all besitting honour: he was afterwards with *Albert* Duke of *Holland*, who was lately likewise arrived at *Windsor*, elected Companions of the noble Order of the Garter, and sate in their Stalls at the solemnity of the Feast. The Emperor after the departure of the Duke, stayed to mediate a Peace between *England* and *France*: which the King (being advertised of the hard escape of his Men in *Normandy*) would not listen unto. Nevertheless, the Emperor very politickly awaited his time, where to take his best hint to persuade an agreement, which might fortunately have been found, had not news come of the besieging of *Harflue*; so all was dash'd.

The new Constable with a great Power suddenly clapt down before the Town, when the Vice-admiral of *France* brought up the whole Navy, with intent whilst the Constable should assail it by Land, to have entred the Town by the Water side. But the Duke of *Exeter* defended the Town valiantly; by whose valour and indefatigable diligence, they were defeated of their expectation. King *Henry* in person was preparing to Sea with all speed; but being by the Emperor dissuaded, he sent his Brother the Duke of *Bedford*, accompanied with the Earls of *March*, *Oxford*, *Huntington*, *Warwick*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, *Devonshire*, and divers Lords and Barons, with two hundred sails, to the rescue of *Harflue*; they made sail from *Rye*, and not without some crosses at Sea, upon the Feast day of the Assumption of our

The Duke of  
*Glocester* en-  
taineth the  
Emperor at  
*Dover*.

*Harflue* besieged  
by the  
*French*.

Relieved by  
the Duke of  
*Bedford*.

our Lady, came to the mouth of the River *Seyne*; Upon notice of the approach of the *English* Navy, *Narbon* set forward, and got the mouth of the Haven; The Duke sent before his strongest Ships; Two *French* Ships advancing too forward, were laid aboard and taken; The fight was continued and resolutely maintained, until the *English* having sunk five hundred Vessels one and other, and taken three great Carricks of *Genoa*, won the harbour, and notwithstanding some opposition made by the Gallies, which had the advantage with Oars to run out of the reach of the Artillery of the *English*, they relieved *Harflue*. Upon notice hereof, the Duke of *Arminack* rayfed his Siege, and departed to *Paris*, leaving somewhat more than a little provision of amunition behind him, which they of *Harflue* took and stowed up for them.

The Duke of *Bedford* having finished what he came about, returned to the King, who with the Emperour gave him great, but no more than deserved commendation. Whilst these broyls were honourably managed abroad, two too uxorious Husbands, the Lord *Strange*, and Sir *John Trussel* of *War-mingham* in *Cheshire*, who had married the Daughter of Sir *John Strange*, most dishonorably fought in maintaining their Wives folly (forgetfully striving for place) at a Sermon in Saint *Dunstons* Church in the East, by occasion whereof, there was much partaking on both sides, whereby the Congregation was much disturbed, a great tumult rayfed, some slaughter and more bloodshed done; the delinquents were committed to the Counter; the Church suspended; and upon examination the Lord *Strange* was found guilty; and by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* adjudged to penance, which was thus performed; All the Lords servants in their bair Shirts, from *St. Pauls* Church, where the sentence was given, followed the Parson of Saint *Dunstons*; after them the Lord bare-headed, with a wax taper in his hand, the Lady bare-footed, the Archdeacon *Reignold Renwood* following last, went to Saint *Dunstons* in the East, where at the rehallowing thereof, the Lady filled all the Vessels with water, and according to the sentence, she offered to the Altar an Ornament of the value of ten pounds, and the Lord a Pixe of silver of five pounds. There was then belike in use no commutation of penance; Surely I am perswaded, that if they might have bought out their penance for money, they would have trebled their offerings; I could wish that such severity of discipline might now be practised against such delinquents, we should then have devotion with more humility, and less striving for places in the Church.

The Emperour desisteth from further mediation of peace with *France*, and entreth in a League defensive and offensive with King *Henry*, wherein only the Pope is excepted: which concluded upon the nineteenth of *October*, Anno 1416. he returned towards *Germany*; King *Henry* accompanied him to *Callice*, whither the Duke of *Burgondy* came, to confirm the League concluded on before by the Earl of *Warwick*, and other the Kings Ambassadors and him concerning *Flanders*, and *Arthoyse* only, from *Midsummer* 1416. until *Michaelmas* following, where it was prolonged further till *Michaelmas* 1419. which gave occasion of suspicion to *France*, that the Duke was no firm friend of theirs.

The Emperour takes his Journey to *Holland*, the Duke returns to *Graveling*, and King *Henry* to *Dover*, where he landed on Saint *Lukes* Eve; upon his arrival he sent new Ambassadors, viz. the Earl of *Warwick*, the Bishops of *Salisbury*, *Bathe*, and *Hereford*, the Abbot of *Westminster*, and

An. 1416.  
R. 4.

Penance done.

King Henry accompanied the Emperour to Callice.



An. 1416.  
R. 4.

England at a  
General Council  
accounted to be one of  
the five principal Nations.

The Duke of  
Bedford made  
Regent.

The Earl of  
Huntington  
fortune at Sea.

the Pryor of *Worcester*, to the Council of *Constance*; whither the Emperour in person likewise went; in this Council it was decreed, that *England* from thenceforth should have the Title of the *English Nation*, and should be accounted one of the five principal Nations, which often before had been moved, but never granted till then; and herein were all *Wickliffes* Positions condemned. At this Council the Antipope *John* was proscribed, and all his Goods and Treasure, amounting to the sum of 750000. *l.* were seized.

The Parliament, (by reason of the Emperours being in the Land, prorogued) began again the nineteenth of *October*, wherein towards the prosecution of Wars in *France*, was voluntarily granted unto the King from the Clergy, two whole Tenths, and from the Laity a whole Fifteen. In this Parliament, during the Kings absence, *John Duke of Bedford* was made Regent of the Realm, having out of the Kings Coffers allowance of one thousand pounds *per annum*, and forty pounds a year more out of the Fee-farm of *Exeter*.

Whilst King *Henry* is preparing for invasion, the *Frenchmen* had waged divers Carracks, and other great Ships of the *Genoases* and *Italians*, which joyning with the *French Fleet*, lay at the mouth of the River of *Seyne*, under the command of *Jaques Bastard* of *Burbon*, to bar all succour from *Harflew*.

*John Earl of Huntington*, Son to the Duke of *Exeter*, beheaded at *Cicester*, is sent to Sea to skour the Coasts, who encountering with the *Bastard Burbon*, after a long fight, took the said *Bastard*, and three of his great Carracks, with all the money for the half years pay for the Fleet: and bowged three other Carracks, and dispersing the rest, cleared the mouth of *Seyne*, and returned to the King at *Southampton*; And upon the 23. of *July*, the King with the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glocester*, the Earls of *Huntington*, *Warwick*, *Devonshire*, *Salisbury*, *Suffolk* and *Somerfet*; The Lords *Rosse*, *Willoughby*, *Fitzbugh*, *Clynton*, *Scroope*, *Matrevers*, *Bourcher*, *Ferrers* of *Groby*, and *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, *Fanhope*, *Gray* of *Codnor*, *Sir Gilbert Umphrevile*, *Sir Gilbert Talbot*, and a brave well-furnished Army, from *Portsmouth* took shipping, and upon the first of *August* landed in *Normandy*, near to the Castle of *Foncke*. The Kings Army consisted of five and twenty thousand, five hundred and eight and twenty fighting men, besides a thousand Artificers and Pioners. The Nobility and Gentry having at their own charges furnished him with eleven thousand, one hundred and eight and twenty men, whereof every fourth man was a *Launceer*. The King besieged the Castle of *Tonque*; which upon the ninth of *August* yielded; at which time the Earl of *Salisbury* took the Castle of *Albervilleirs*, which the King gave to him and his Heirs, being the first Land given by the King in *France*.

The King at the winning of *Tonque*, made eight and twenty Knights; and Captain thereof, *Sir Robert Circkley*. From thence the Army marched to *Cane*, whither to prevent the Citizens from burning the Suburbs, the Duke of *Clarence* with a thousand men was sent, who found them firing thereof, but drove them away, quenched the fire, rescued the Abby Church of *Saint Stephens* from being thrown down, and took in the Cell of *Nans*, which they had strongly fenced. The King sitting down before the Town, entrenched himself, and cast up a mount to prevent the Citizens from falling. The King made many assaults, but finding the loss thereby, more than the gains, he only kept them busied with often alarms, whilst his Pioners laboured to undermine the Walls, which being effected, upon the fourth of

September

September, he offered the besieged their lives, in case they would but submit; but they refusing, he made shew of giving a general assault, whilst many of his men entred the City under the foundation. The Duke of *Clarence* with his Company, was the first that entred, and came upon the backs of those that defended the Walls, whereby they were easily vanquished, and the whole Army entred without resistance. The King caused all the Armes in the Town to be brought together to the Market place, where he caused his men in battel array to stand all night; in the morning he caused all the Magistrates and principal men of the Town to come before him at their Senate house, where some of them for their stubborn refusal of grace proffered, were adjudged to death, and all the rest fined. The spoil of the Town he distributed among the Souldiers. The Captain of the Castle made shew of standing at defence; but having advertisement, that the King had sworn to shew no mercy, if he did not surrender, upon assurance to depart with life, bag and baggage, the habiliments of War excepted, he made composition, and accordingly gave twelve hostages, that if he were not fully relieved before the twentieth of *Sept.* to render up the Castle, which not being done, he performed, and so the King had possession both of *Cane* and the Castle.

An. 1416.

R. 4.

*Cane* taken.

In the mean time of the Kings absence, the Scots in great numbers entred the *English* pale; but hearing the Duke of *Exeter*, with the Lord Wardens, were marching towards them with a great power, they retired without much hurt doing.

*Charles* the *Dolphin* being about seventeen years of age, being bare both of men and money, yet in the time of his Fathers weakness, studied how to put off this storm that hung over the Common-wealth, and by the counsel of the Constable, found a means to possess himself of all his Mothers Jewels, Plate, and money, which was great; which he orderly expended in waging of Souldiers, and making preparation for things necessary, for the defence of the Kingdom. But what can an alone woman do toward the good or safety of the King or Common-wealth, she knoweth no good but gold, nor reckoneth any thing worthy the preserving, but beauty and costly apparel, she therefore being bereaved of those Ornaments of womans greatness, (Jewels) forgetting the peril wherein both her self and Nation stood, most intemperately passionate, began to work her vvomanish malice, placeth the Duke of *Burgundy* in the chiefest authority about the King, vvho having the Svword in his ovvn hands, to revenge old injuries, resolveth first to tame the young gallant, and then to repulse the common Enemy. The *Dolphin* likewise stomacking the inconsiderate folly of the Duke, to prefer private quarrels before publick preservation, minded first to repress his insolency, and then to attend the repelling of the forrain foe. In the mean time, King *Henry* pursueth his victorious success, sendeth the Duke of *Clarence* further into the Countrey, vvho vvith great difficulty took in *Bayeux*, vvhereof he made the Lord *Matrevers* Captain. The Duke of *Glocester* likewise took the City of *Lysieux*.

*Bayeux* taken.

The King remained still at *Cane*, repaying the Tovvn, and fortifying the Castle, putting out the Natives that vvere impotent, or young infants, to the number of fifteen hundred; and in their places did settle *English* people; and finding a great mass of money and plate, deposited by the Citizens in the Castle, he caused the same, upon proof, to be respectively delivered unto all such as came to make claim unto the same, and vvould acknowledge him for their Sovereign.

His



An. 1416.  
R. 4.

The Kings  
good policy  
to allure the  
*French*.

*Courfey* Castle  
yielded

*Sees* submits  
to King Henry.

*Falays* taken.

His merciful and moderate carriage, won him the good report of his Enemies; nay, it incited most of the Captains and Governours nearer adjoyning, to render their commands unto him, which he accepted of as testimonials of their duty. And upon coming into those parts so rendred unto him, he restored to many of them upon Oath of due fidelity, their places of charge and command again, making always protestation, whosoever would become his Subjects, and swear allegiance unto him, they should enjoy their lands and liberties, in as large, if not in more free and ample manner than they enjoyed them before; an excellent policy to win the *Normans*, whose rugged condition is, and was always easier to be led with facile and gentle courses, than to be driven by compulsary and harsh means; for hereby they were contented to forsake the *French*, and turn to the *English* Crown.

The King having orderly settled things in *Cane*, made Sir Gilbert *Umphrevile* Captain of the Town, and Sir *John Popham* Bailiff, and Sir Gilbert *Talbot* Captain of the Castle; and so the first of *October* departed to *Courfey* Castle, which within three dayes yielded. The fourth of *October*, he came to *Argenton*, the Town and Castle whereof made composition, that if they were not rescued by the day, then to surrender: those that would become subject to *England*, to stay, the rest to depart with their moveables; for want of succour at the prefixed time, both were yielded, and Covenants on all parts performed. The Lord *Gray* of *Codnor*, was made Governour there, whilst the King marched to *Sees*, a populous place, which together with many adjoyning pieces, acknowledge King *Henry* for their Sovereign, and were kindly received, and fairly entreated. The Town of *Alançon* endured the brunt of eight dayes Siege, but in the end took out a Copy from the former places for submission; the Duke of *Glocester* was made Captain thereof, and Sir *Ralph Lentell* his Lieutenant: certain overtures of peace were made by the *Dauphin* at *Tonque* Castle, but none concluded, only a truce was made for certain time, betwixt King *Henry* and the Duke of *Britain*, who came in person to require the same; and the like was granted to the Queen of *Jerusalem*, and her Son *Lewis*, for *Anjou* and *Mayne*, the Duke of *Britain* being their Proxie for the obtaining the same. From *Alançon* the Earl of *Salisbury* was sent to *Falays*, to view the strength thereof, and to keep the inhabitants from coming forth: the King with his Army followed, and entrenched themselves to avoid excursions, and incursions. The King made his approaches to his best advantage: and though it was in the hard of Winter, made provision sufficient for his men, both against cold and hunger; whereupon the besieged concluded, if succour came not before the second of *January* next following, to yield the Town: the succour not coming, the Town was yielded, but the Castle held out, into which the Governour, and most of the best able men were gotten; but being fiercely followed, and kept in continual action by assaults and myning, they were driven to make composition of surrender, if not rescued before the sixth of *February*; the Souldiers to depart with their lives only, and the Captain to be Ransomed. The prefixed time come, the Castle was surrendered, and the Captain detained Prisoner, until the Castle was sufficiently repaired; his name was *Oliver de Many*. The King leaving for Captain there, Sir *Henry Fitzbugh*, returned to *Cane*, to put in execution a Proclamation formerly made, that if the inhabitants of *Normandy* that were fled, returned not by a day to them prefixed, to grant their land to his Souldiers; thereupon he gave to the Duke of *Clarence* during life the Vicounties of  
*Ange*,

*Ange, Orber and Pontinze, Oe, Mere*; with all the Lands of those that were not returned according to Proclamation.

All the whole Lent the King lay at *Bayeux* with part of his Army, but the residue were volant upon exploits abroad. The Kings Navy still kept the Seas, scowring the Coasts, daily taking the *French* Bottoms they met. But upon the sixteenth of *July*, such a storm took them, that had they not by Gods good favour fallen in with *Southampton*, the whole Navy had been in great danger; yet in that Haven two Ballingers, and two great Carracks, laden with Merchandize, were drowned; and the Mast of one of the great Ships was with the storm blown over the Town Wall: when the fury of the tempest was past, the Earls of *March* and *Huntington* waisted over to *Normandy*, and landing there, marched up the Country to the King. The Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Talbot*, besieged the strong Castle of *Dampfront*. The Duke of *Clarence* at that time took *Courton* and *Burny*, and in the first, placed Captain *Aubyn*, and Captain *William Houghton* in the other; he likewise appointed in *Chombis*, Captain *James Nevill*; in *Bechelovin* for Captain, the Earl *Marshall*; in *Harcourt*, Captain *Richard Woodvile*; in *Fantgernon*, for Captain *John Saint Alban*; in *Crevenner*, Sir *John Kirby*, to whom the same was after given for ever; in *Anvillyers*, Captain *Robert Hornby*; in *Bagles*, Sir *John Arthure* was made Captain, and also of *Fresny*, Sir *Robert Brent*, lately made Vicount, was Captain.

The Duke of *Glocester*, with the Earl of *March*, and the Lord *Codnor*, march into the Isle of *Constantine*, wherein he likewise placed Captains of such places as he took in; as at *Corentine*, the Lord *Botreux*; at *Saint Lowe*, Captain *Reignold West*; at *Valoignes*, Captain *Thomas Burgh*; at *Pontdone*, Captain *David Howell*; at *Hay de Paps*, Sir *John Aston*; at *Saint Savior*, Sir *John Robfert*, lately made Vicount; at *Pantarson*, Sir *Robert Gargraus*; at *Hambery*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, (to whom afterwards the King gave that and *Brokevill*); at *Auronchos*, Sir *Philip Hall*; at *Vire* the Lord *Matreers*, who was likewise Captain of *Saint James de Bumeron*. And so having taken in the whole Island, except *Chereburgh*, he returned to the King, but was sent back to the Siege thereof, which held out about the space of five months, though in the mean time, all warlike stratagems and means were used to take it; at last they made composition, that if not rescued within threescore and two days, to surrender and stand to the mercy of the King. In the mean time, the Duke caused his Camp to be strongly fenced with Rampiers and Bulwarks, leaving nothing for the safeguard thereof, either unforeseen or unprepared. And whilst he was providing thus, the *Dolphin* and the Duke of *Burgoigne*, by the mediation of the Pope and his Cardinals, were fully reconciled, and began to consult about the relieving their besieged Friend. The King to prevent any danger that might betide his Brother, had taken order with the Lieutenant in the West Country of *England* to send over two thousand Men out of those parts, whom when the besieged at *Chierburgh* perceived at Sea to approach, they presumed of Succor, but their hope failing, they surrendered both the Town and Castle; whereof the Lord *Gray of Codnor* was made the Kings Lieutenant for the time, but afterwards the King made Captain thereof *John Bromley* Esquire; and for his hardy valour, and commendable forwardness, both at this Siege and other places, he gave him the Order of Knighthood, gave him fair possessions in the Island, and made him Constable of *Bosseville de Rosse*: This was the same party, that at *Corby* by his Valour recovered the Lord *Stafford's* Colours from the *French*; and for the

An. 1418  
R. 4.

A great storm.

6. Reg.

Captains  
made over several places.

The *Dolphin*  
and Duke of  
*Burgoigne* re-  
conciled.

remem-



An. 1416.

R. 6.

Eureux besieged.

Loveirs besieged and rendred.

New inventions for passage over Water.

Roan besieged.

remembrance of that service, had an honorable adjunct to his Arms. The King intending to prosecute his intendments to the full, being of equal Spirit to dare, and power to do, had sent for his Uncle the Duke of *Exeter*, who with fifteen thousand Men within few days of *Trinity Sunday* came to the King; by whom he was commanded to besiege the City of *Eureux*, which he took in, and appointed Captain thereof, *Sir Gilbert Halsall*. The Earl of *Kyme* then also took in the strong Castle of *Milley le Vesko*. The Siege of *Roan* was the next thing attempted; which place was now fully fortified, and furnished for defence, both with Men and Amunition; thither, for the more safety, had all the neighbours conveyed all their riches, as being their sole place of refuge now. The King, to have his passage clear, laid Siege to the City of *Loveirs*, which upon these conditions, that if they were not relieved within seven days, then the Souldiers to serve King *Henry*; the Inhabitants to remain there, as Subjects to *England*; only all such Gunners as had discharged any piece of Ordnance to be hanged: no succour appearing at the day, the Covenants were performed accordingly.

The King marched to *Pont de Larch*, where he arrived the 27. of *June*. There was a Stone-bridge which hindred the approach to *Roan*, being exceeding strongly guarded; King *Henry* devised therefore floats of wicker, covered with Beasts hides, by which the Duke of *Clarence* with his quarter passed the River, and then laid Siege to the Town on that side; but to prevent the inconvenience that might come, by the River dividing the Army, there were more such floats made, and other devises with Hogheads and Pipes fastned to Fir-poles and Barges, and such like conveyances, with which he past over his Men at pleasure; in the mean time, he caused divers Souldiers that could swim, to make show of passing the River, three miles off another way; to which place, the French-men drew all their Forces, but were deluded: whereupon presently the Fort at the Bridge-foot was surrendered, and the Souldiers taken to the Kings grace. From thence the Duke of *Exeter* with certain Horse, was sent to view the places about *Roan*, and with him *Windfor* the Herald, which summoned the Citizens to surrender the Town, and to submit themselves to the Kings mercy; but they proudly returned answer, they received none from *England*, nor none they would give the *English*; and instantly made a sally forth, but were beaten in with the loss of thirty of their Men. The Town of *Loveirs* the King gave to his Brother *Clarence*, who made his Deputy there, *Sir John Goddard*; after the return of the Duke of *Exeter*, the *Roanions* fired the Suburbs, demolished all Churches, Chantries, and Hostels, leaving nothing without the City, which upon the last of *July* the King straightly besieged. The King's quarter was the *Chartaux*; the Duke of *Clarence* at *Saint Gerways*; the Duke of *Exeter* at *Port Saint Dennis*; between the Duke of *Exeter* and the Duke of *Clarence*, lay Earl Marshal, to whom were joyned the Earl of *Ormond*, the Lords *Harington* and *Talbot*; from the Duke of *Exeter* towards the King, were encamped the Lords *Rosse*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-Hugh*, and *Sir William Porter*, with the Northern *Prickers*; the Earl of *Salisbury* and *Mortaignes* quarter lay at the Abby of *Saint Katherine*; *Sir John Gray* was lodged against the Chappel of *Mount Saint Michael*; *Sir Philip Leeche*, Treasurer of the Army, kept the Hill next the Abby, and the Baron *Carew*, held the passage on the River of *Seine*, with whom was Squire *Jenito Dortoyes*; on the further side the River, were quartered the Earls of *Warraine* and *Huntington*, the Lords *Nevill* and *Ferrers*, *Sir Gilbert Umphrevile*,

*phrevile*, with his Company lay before the Port de Ponte. A great chain of iron set upon piles, and a new forced bridge for passage from one Camp to the other, was made over the River.

The Earl of *Warwick* was sent to *Camdbeck*, standing betwixt *Roan* and the Sea. The Earl of *Warwick* sent Sir *John Bromley* and *George Umphrevile*, with an hundred Archers, and two hundred Bill-men, to a little Castle called the *Strow*, and in the way were met by eight hundred *French*: Whereupon Sir *John Bromley* casting his Bow-men in a Limasson or loose Ring, and his Bill-men in two squares, which in close order marched towards the Enemy, who seeing the number to appear so small, gave on in that disorderly manner, that their Captain the Lord of *Estrisles* was slain, before any of his company could come to the rescues. The Bow-men opening their order, delivered such a shole of arrows, even in the midst of their Enemies, that they stood amazed, until they were awakened with a second. The Bow-men as long as the Arrows lasted, kept the Enemy aloof, but at length they were enforced to make use of their slain Enemies weapons, with which they closing to the Bill-men, made it appear, that they could make use of more weapons than one, and after three hours fight, the *French* fainted, and gave the *English* leave to take the spoil of two hundred that were slain, and the Ransome of two hundred more taken Prisoners. In this fight was slain *George Umphrevile*, and thirty more, all the rest being hurt more or less: amongst whom, Sir *John Bromley* was hurt in the face and body: They were not able to go forth of the field, but continued there all night; and in the morning some fresh men being come to them, they marched to the Castle, and so plyed them with assaults, and minings, that at length the besieged were glad to suffer the *English* Navy to pass by to *Roan*; whereof one hundred Sail passed by; and likewise they gave hostages, that they would not intermeddle, to aid or assist *Roan* any way, but to follow her fortune, to render if she did; wherewith Sir *John Bromley* went into the Castle, with two Esquires, and a Surgeon, and the Company back to the King. By this time, the Duke of *Glocester* was come to the Camp, and quartered before the Port Saint *Hillary*, nearer the Enemy by forty roades.

The Earl of *Kilmayne*, with sixteen hundred Irish, armed after their fashion, came from *Harflue* where they landed, to the King; who were by him assigned for quarter, the North side of the Army, upon the way that cometh from the Forrest of *Lyons*. This charge the Earl joyfully accepted, and as proud of the employment, did many brave exploits, to the more damage of the Enemy, than all the Troops of Horse.

The Kings Cousin-german, the King of *Portugal*, likewise sent a Navy of well appointed Ships, to the mouth of the River of *Seine*, to stop all passage of succour to *Roan*. There were in *Roan* two hundred and ten thousand persons, at the beginning of the Siege, which made them so confident, that they swear each to other, never to deliver up the City, as long as they could hold Sword, or handle Pike. The King acquainted herewith, stopped all passages, both by land and water, casting deep Trenches, and rayling Bulwarks, to hinder all sallies or receipt of relief.

The *French*, in the mean time, made many attempts upon divers pieces in the Kings hands; as upon *Kilbuisse*, *Eureux*, and *Loviers*, but were repulsed with great loss, but more disgrace. Before *Roan* no enterprize is left unpractised, no policy unattempted, how either party might indamage other. But now the many mouths within the City, had devoured a great part

An. 1418.  
R. 6.

The *English*  
Navy passeth  
the River.

The good ser-  
vice of the  
*Irish*.



An. 1418.

R. 6.

King Henry's  
Charity.Roan comes to  
composition.

Surrendered.

part of their provision, and for the better saving of the rest, a great number of aged impotent creatures, were turned out of the Gates, whom the *English* would not suffer to pass the Trenches: betwixt which and the Walls, the miserable people starved and died, without help of friend or foe. Upon Christmas day, in Honour of the Birth of our Saviour, the King relieved, and suffered to pass as many as were at first put out, but suffered others that were thrust out a second time to famish, except relieved by the Town. The unwonted noise of Bells Ringing, gave the King occasion to expect an Enemy at his back; for prevention therefore of that danger, he gave order to Sir Robert Bapthorpe, Controller of the Army, to provide a deep Trench well staked, and with bastils to round the Camp, and to make defences both behind and before, to withstand all sudden approaches. The famine began now to rage pittifully within the City; and the *Dolphins* promise to relieve them, now past hope of performance, a Parley is desired and obtained, but fruitless at the first; the demands of the besieged being more than stood with the Kings Honour or Pleasure to give consent unto; but upon the Commissioners return into the Town, the starved multitude began to upbraid the Commanders, and to tell them, that they must be famished to death for their obstinacies, and with threatening speeches, they told them, they would, if they would not, compound for their redemption upon any terms; enforced therefore to give way to their implacable furies, the Commissioners concluded, that after the nineteenth day of that instant *January*, the City and Castle of *Roan* should be delivered to the King of *Englands* hands; and that all should submit to the Kings mercy, and should pay to him three hundred thousand Skutes of gold; every two to be of the value of the *English* Noble. Every Souldier to swear never to bear Arms against the King of *England*.

That the starved creatures expelled, should be admitted entrance, and receive relief during the time prefixed; if not before that time refused.

Upon the day agreed upon, Sir *Guy de Butler*, and the Burgeses delivered up the keyes of the City and Castle, craving Grace and Favour. The Duke of *Exeter* was appointed to take possession of the same, who accordingly entred with his Souldiers.

The next day after, being *Friday* the twentieth of *January*, the King triumphantly made his entry, with four Dukes, ten Earls, eight Bishops, sixteen Barons, &c. He was received with the Clergy, with two and forty Crosses, and by them was conducted to our Lady Church, where after publick Thanksgiving, he took homage and fealty of the Burgeses and Inhabitants, making Proclamation, that all that would come and acknowledge him to be their Liege-Lord, should enjoy the benefit of his protection, and retain their possessions: whereupon many came in; and many Towns were surrendered. The Duke of *Britain* foreseeing the danger of having too potent a Neighbour (except a friend) plant near him, upon safe conduct obtained, came to *Roan* where a League is agreed upon, that neither should make War upon other, except upon denuntiation thereof six moneths before any attempt: this concluded, the Duke returned.

Whilst the King lay at *Roan*, to perfect all things, the Duke of *Clarence* took *Vernon* and *Nannt*, making Sir *William Porter* Captain of the first, and the Earl of *March* of the other. The Earl of *Salisbury* took

in *Hunflew* (which was afterward given to the Duke of *Clarence*) *Munster de Villiers*, *Ewe*, *New Castle*, whereof *Sir Philip Leech* was made Captain.

An Overture agreed upon for an interview, betwixt the King of *England*, and the *Dolphin* of *France*, failed through the *Dolphins* default, which displeased King *Henry*, who had in expectation thereof, gone from *Roan* to *Eureux*, from whence he sent the Earl of *Warwick*, to take in *la Roche Guyon*, which he accordingly (but not without some loss) did, and thereof made owner of the Kings free gift *Sir Guy de Bolyleere*, lately Captain of *Roan*. In all places the King's Commanders prevailed, and by constraint or consent all pieces of strength, that were summoned, opened their Gates unto the *English*: and it is worthy the observation, that when there is (as now there was) a mutual intercourse of discreet direction, and diligent execution, warlike designs seldom but prosper; on the other side, where there is a want of skill to Command, and want of will to Obey, nothing can thrive, and these wants now hid, so clouded the affairs of *France*, that all lay at six and seven. The Duke of *Burgoyne* solicites an interview betwixt the Kings of *England* and *France*; Embassadors on both sides are sent, King *Henry* is content to come to *Maunt*, so as the *French* King came to *Ponthoys*, which is consented to. King *Henry* kept his Feast of *Whitsuntide* at *Maunts*, where he made the stout *Gascoyne*, Captain *le Buise*, Earl of *Longevile*; *Sir John Gray*, Earl of *Tancqueruile*; and the Lord *Bourcher*, Earl of *Ewe*: upon the last day of *May* at the day appointed, King *Henry* accompanied with the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Glocester*, and *Exeter*, his Uncle *Bewford*, the great Clerk and rich Bishop of *Winchester*, with the Earls of *March* and *Salisbury*, with a thousand Men at Arms, entred the place appointed. The *French* Queen, her Husband being taken with his phrenzy, with the Duke of *Burgoyne*, and the Earl of *Saint Paul*, and a company of fair Ladies, amongst whom as a bait to intangle the Kings youthful affection, the Queens beautiful Daughter, the Lady *Katherine* thoroughly Instructed, and gorgeously Attired, presented her self, with whose sight though the King was ardently taken, yet with that moderation he behaved himself, that though he were resolved to make the enjoyment of her for Wife, a chief Article to be granted, yet he made no such apparent show thereof, but that the other things requirable to be concluded at that Treaty, should be first Agreed upon, but nothing was effected; for the *Dolphin* under-hand, had made means to the Duke of *Burgoyne* to hinder all Agreement; which King *Henry* observing, at their departure told the Duke of *Burgoyne*, that he would have his demands and the Lady, or else drive the King out of his Kingdom, and make the Duke seek another Dukedom. The Treaty becoming fruitless and dissolved, the *Dolphin* and the Duke upon the sixth of *July* are reconciled, and the Articles thereof, Signed, and Sealed.

In the mean time a Conspiracy in *Roan* was timely discovered, and wisely prevented, and the Conspirators upon examination and proof duly punished.

By direction from the King, the Earl of *Longevile* did valiantly surprise the Town of *Poythoys*, with fifteen hundred Men, there being at that time within the Town, a thousand Launceers, and two thousand Arcubalisters; but had not the Earl of *Huntington* come in good time to second them, their valour oppressed by multitude, could not have

L

An. 1416.  
R. 6.

An Overture  
for an inter-  
view crossed  
by the *Dol-*  
*phins* default.

An. 1419.  
R. 7.

A Conspiracy  
in *Roan* disco-  
vered.  
*Ponthoys* sur-  
prised by the  
*English*.

made



An. 1419.  
R. 7.

made good what they had atchieved : neither could they both have long subsisted, had not the Duke of *Clarence* come in their rescue, who to recompence the brave Spirits of the first entrers, gave the spoil of the Town amongst them. From thence the Duke marched to *Paris*, and there stayed by the space of two days, but perceiving no show of Sally to be made, he returned to *Ponthoys* : King *Henry* coming thither, after he had sufficiently furnished the same with Victuals and Artillery, he with his main Army marched further into the Country, and in the way forced the Castle of *Vannion Villeirs*, but at the intercession of divers Ladies, the Garrison permitted without Arms or Weapon to depart ; hereof was appointed Captain *John de Burgh* : upon the approach of the Army which was upon the last of *August*, to the Castle of *Gisors*, the only piece that now stood forth in those parts ; the Garrison there made a Sally, and much hindred the *English* in their sitting down, by reason of the inaccessible passage thorow the Marshes, which in a manner surrounded the same ; yet at length when they perceived the Kings resolution, not to depart without Conquest, and calling to mind, that no place had been of strength sufficient to withstand his Power, they agreed if not rescued by a day ( which they were not ) to deliver both Town and Castle to the King : The Soldiers of the Garrison, and many of the Burgers took an Oath of Fidelity to the King of *England*, and remained there still, the Earl of *Worcester* was made Captain thereof. The well defended Castle of *Galiard*, strong both by Scituation and Art, after six months Siege, was surrendred to the Duke of *Exeter*, and thereof the King made the Lord *Rosse* Captain, all the Country of *Velquesseine* submitted, the King putting in Men of Valour and Trust into the chief Holds, as into *Gourney*, Sir *Gilbert Umphrevile* ; the Earl of *Worcester*, at *Newty*.

The Castle of *Dnmall* ( yielded to the Earl of *Warwick* ) and was given him by the King, so that now all *Normandy* ( Mount Saint *Michael* only excepted ) was reduced to the possession of the King of *England*, which had been detained wrongfully until then, from him ever since the year 1207.

The *Dolphin* all this while, notwithstanding the Agreement Sealed, and settled as might be thought, being persuaded that the Duke of *Burgoyne* was a bar to his ambitious desires, studied not so much to stop the over-flowing current, of the King of *Englands* Victories, as the effecting of his own ends of Revenge against the Duke, ( a miserable thing, when one Man's rising is grounded on the desired overthrow of another ; ) To that end therefore, covering his private malice, with the long Robe of publick Service, he made show of removal of all rankour betwixt the Duke and him, and to that end, appointed a meeting of all the Peers at *Mountstrew al fault you*, where the Duke was barbarously murdered, whilst he humbled himself, in reverence, to the *Dolphin* on his Knee : Which act was by so much the less to be pittied in the Duke, by how much he in the like kind upon the like interview, had caused *Lewis* the Duke of *Orleance* to be murdered : But this recrimination of *Burgoyne*, for the murder of *Orleance*, can be no excusation of the *Dolphins* perfidious Treachery ; hereupon *Philip* Earl of *Caroloys*, the Heir of *Burgoyne*, did forbear for a time the company of his Wife, the *Dolphins* Sister, but upon due consideration of her pliable and obsequious disposition, and the Religious admonition of his Mother in Law, and exhortation

hortation of his chiefeſt Councellors, he gave her ever after all requi-  
rable reſpect and obſervance; and turned his juſtly incenſed anger againſt  
the *Dolphin*, but without choler or diſtemperature, either in words or  
geſtures, howſoever his kindred and allies threatned revenge; But this di-  
ſtraction ſettled at home, and danger threatned abroad, drew a double  
fear or deſtruction upon the quieter minded Nobility, who uſed the im-  
ployment of their uttermoſt endeavours, to procure a reconciliation be-  
twixt the Queen, and the *Dolphin*, and a pacification of the King of  
*England*; and by their mediation, Embaſſadours are ſent to *Gyſors*, where  
King *Henry* lay, who gave them audience, and honourable entertainment,  
and was pleaſed to condeſcend, that Commiſſioners might have commu-  
nication, but no ceſſation of War. No ſooner were they returned, but he  
drew his forces to *Maunt*, where he divided them into three parts, ſen-  
ding the Duke of *Gloceſter* with one part to *Saint German in lay*, which  
was delivered unto him. The Duke of *Clarence* with another was ſent to  
*Mountjoy*, which after ſome ſhow of great reſiſtance, was given over unto  
him. The third, under the conduct of the Duke of *Exeter*, went to *Mew-  
lancke*, which was ſtrongly defended, and compaſſed in with the great Ri-  
ver of *Seyne*: but by the invention of wooden Towers reared upon Boats,  
bridges, and floats, the *Frenchmen* were ſo terrified, that for want of  
ſuccour at the time agreed upon, they ſurrendered the Town, and gave  
Hoſtages, and Oath to remain true Subjects to the King of *England*, and  
ſo were permitted to remain there ſtill; the many rivolets cut out, and  
running in, the ſeveral Forts and Caſtles, as are aforeſaid, might have  
much drained the great River of the Kings Army, had not daily ſupplies  
from all forrain parts (drawn by the general report of his honoura-  
ble uſage of Souldiers) of Men, Ammunition, and Money, out of his Domi-  
nions, been brought unto him; but ſuch was his providence, and his Of-  
ficers obedience and care, that nothing wanted that was needful or ne-  
ceſſary.

But now the new Duke of *Burgoyne* (a Wiſe and Politick Prince) ha-  
ving debated with himſelf what courſe to take, to revenge his Fathers  
murther, and being aſſured, that if he ſhould oppoſe the *Dolphin*, and  
the *Dolphin* him, the King of *France* would loſe by both, and King *Henry*  
would carry away all; he endeavoured to purpoſe an overture of peace be-  
tween the two Kings, which he was the more likely to obtain, by rea-  
ſon of his powerfullneſs amongſt the Peers, and the aſſurance of the  
Lady *Katherines* readineſs (who had more power over her Mothers af-  
fection than her own) to joyn with him in any thing that might con-  
duce to her obtaining the effect of her wiſhes, which was as well the love  
of King *Henry*, as the peace and quiet of her Father and Country, beſides,  
the advantage the Duke had of the *Dolphin*, who was now obſerved to be  
more cunning and revengeful, than wiſe and valiant, and by the late mur-  
ther made obnoxious to the diſeſteem of his neareſt friends; Embaſſa-  
dors are again ſent from the King of *France*, and the young Duke of  
*Burgoyne*, who were returned with gracious countenance, and ſome tokens  
of courteſie to the Duke, but withal a kind of intimation that there  
was ſmall hope of obtaining any thing at his hands concerning truce, if  
not deſired by the Lady *Katherine*, whoſe innocency, as he ſaid, knew  
not how to abuſe his credulity, as the others had done. Whiſt theſe  
things are in agitation, his Armies lay not idle.

The *Engliſh*  
Army ſevered  
into three  
parts.

An. 1419.  
R. 7.

*French* Embaſ-  
ſadors ſent  
to King *Henry*.



An. 1420.  
R. 8.

The Earl of *Salisbury* took in *Fresney*.

The Earls *Marshal*, and *Huntington*, with their powers entred into *Maine*, and approaching *Mentz*, they were encountred by the power of the *Dolphin*, whereof they slew five thousand, and took two hundred Prisoners; these tydings being brought to *Roan*, whither the King was come, to solemnize the Feast of Christs Birth; thanksgivings to God were publicly made, and in the instant thereof, arrived other Embassadors from the King and Queen of *France*, who having audience, and the Tenour of their Embassage delivered, a Letter from the Lady *Katherine* to the King of *England*, was secretly by the Bishop of *Arras* delivered; the contents whereof being considered, the King openly said, that he would wipe away the disrepute cast upon his actions, as though he should be the cause of effusion of so much Christian Blood, as every day was likely to be made, if the Wars should continue for his quarrel; and would turn the same upon the King of *France*, and his Adherents, if either they made not propositions, such as with safety of his honour might be granted, or did not condescend to such Articles, as he would reasonably tender them; he therefore returned the Embassadors with good content, and sent the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Bishop of *Rochester* to the Duke of *Burgoyne*, between whom an accord was made, in case the King of *France* and his Peers, with the Commons, would approve thereof; they being to that purpose by the Duke of *Burgoyne* solicited, willingly gave their consent, and appointed the Duke of *Burgoyne* to send his Embassadors, sufficiently authorized, to meet with King *Henry*s Embassadors, at *Troyes*, in *Campayne*, and to that end, the King of *England* was earnestly entreated so to do, who thereupon sent his Uncle the Duke of *Exeter*, the Earl of *Salisbury* with others, to the number of five hundred horse, to the Duke of *Burgoyne*, who from thence came together with them to *Troyes*, upon the eleventh of *March*, where they were in that manner received, as where affection, and loving desire are the entertainers; there it was quickly concluded, that the King of *England* should speed himself to *Troyes*, there to be espoused to the fair Lady *Katherine*, and to have assurance of the Crown of *France*, after the decease of the deceased *Charles*; whereupon with a Guard of Fifteen thousand choice Souldiers, accompanied with the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glocester*, with the Earls of *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, *Huntington*, *Longevile*, *Tankerville*, and *Ewe*, the King of *England* came to *Troyes* upon the eighteenth day of *May*, where he was met by the Duke of *Burgoyne*, and divers of the *French* Nobility, who attended him to the Pallace, where the Queen with her Daughters, the Dutchess of *Burgoyne*, and the Lady *Katherine*, gave him Princely entertainment, where after some little pause, whilst the intercourse of complement was passing betwixt the *French* and the *English*, the King addressed himself to the Dutchess of *Burgoyne*, demanding of her in befitting terms, if she thought her Sister *Katherines* affection was free, and not in bondage to any, to whom the Dutchess with a graceful smile made answer, that she durst pawn her soul, her Sister, till that hour she first saw his Highness, was as free as any Virgin might be, but how she stood affected now, she referred him to her own answer, opportunity giving way (as when minds are willing, it may be easily apprehended) the Lady *Katherine* was by the King interrogated, how she stood affected to marriage, answered, she was to be disposed of by the King otherwise, if she might have the liberty of her own will, she would give him a  
more

King *Henry*  
sends to the  
Duke of  
*Burgoyne*.

King *Henry*  
giveth meet-  
ing at *Troyes*,  
to the Queen.

more full answer, and so making offer to depart, King Henry with an amiable voice, said, give but your consent, and I will by Gods leave make all the rest agree, or leave them landless or liveless, and thereof rest assured, by this pledge of my Faith; and so tendred unto her a Ring of a great price, which she not without some blushing received, and making a Courtly conge unto him, left him, and he the company: being come to his lodging, he gave order to his Commissioners to make speed in their consultations, and not to give the least way to any procrastinations; whereupon that speed was used in their conferences, that upon the 20. day of May, the Lady Katherine was affianced unto him in Saint Peters Church; after this the two Kings with their Privy Counsellors divers times met, and all points of accord, were reduced to a certainty and concluded; to which agreement the Kings and all present made Faith for the performance, and the Duke of Burgoyne for his particular, made Oath as followeth;

An. 1420.  
R. 8.

King Henry affianced to the Lady Katherine.

I Philip Duke of Burgoigny, for my Self and my Heirs, upon the holy Evangelists of God, swear to Henry King of England, and Regent of France under King Charles, that we shall humbly and faithfully obey King Henry in all things, which concern the Crown of France, and Common-wealth thereof, and after the decease of our now Sovereign Charles, shall remain faithful Leigemen to the said King Henry and his Successors for ever; neither shall we admit or allow of any other Lord, or supreme King of France, but Henry of England and his Heirs: neither shall we counsel or consent to any that may be prejudicial to the said King Henry or his Successors, or may be damageful to his Life or Limb, but shall with all speed give notice thereof, and endeavour to prevent it.

The Duke of Burgoynes Oath.

The Morrow after Trinity Sunday, being the 3. of June, the Marriage with all befitting Ceremonies was solemnized, and the King of England named and Proclaimed Heir, and Regent of the Realm of France, of this accord, and the Articles subsequent, the French King sent Copies all over France, and King Henry the like into England, in these words.

Henry by the grace of God, King of England, Heir and Regent of France, and Lord of Ireland, to be perpetually remembred of all Christians under our Obeysance, do notifie and declare, That whereas there hath been divers Treaties, betwixt our Royal Father King Charles, for peace and quiet to be established betwixt the Realms of France and England, which have proved fruitless; considering the many detriments thereby fallen, not only to those Realms, but the disturbance of Holy Church: we have now concluded with our said Royal Father, for removing all distractions, and accorded that our said Royal Father, and his ever to be honored Queen Isabell, shall be entituled the Father and Mother of us, and revered and respected in all things as such Alliance shall require.

The Articles of agreement certified.

That the said King Charles, shall, during life, hold and enjoy, in peace and tranquillity, his Royal Dignity, Crown and Revenues of all France; and that all Writs, Procefs, and Commissions, and such like proceedings shall pass under his Name and Seal as King; and that his Queen Isabell in case she survive him, shall keep her Estate and Title, and all such Rights and Revenues, as were formerly enjoyed by Blanch Queen Dowager to Philip, Grandfather to King Charles.



An. 1420.  
R. 8.

That Queen *Katherine* shall with all convenient speed be sufficiently endowed in *England*, with twenty thousand Marks *per annum*.

That during the Life of *Charles*, King *Henry* shall not assume the Title of King of *France*, and that the *French* King should write and intitle him; Our thrice noble Son, *Henry* King of *England*, and Heir of *France*.

That after the death of *Charles*, the Crown of *France* shall really and entirely remain to King *Henry* and his Heirs for ever.

That in regard of the inability of King *Charles*, by himself to Rule, and manage the affairs of the Kingdom, King *Henry* shall be Regent and govern the same, as to him should seem expedient for the Kings honour, and the commodity of the Realm and Common-wealth.

That the Estate of Parliament in *France* shall retain, all accustomed Priviledges, Power and Authority.

That King *Henry* shall to his Power, faithfully assist both Peers and People, to regain all such things, as did of right belong unto them, and shall protect all the Preheminences, Priviledges, and Possessions of the Crown of *France*.

That King *Henry* shall support the Subjects of *France*, against all forrain Enemies, and labour the suppression of all intestine debates and Civil Wars, and endeavour the increase of the Prosperity and Peace of *France*, by impartially administering Justice to all.

That King *Henry* in places of Justice, and Charge, shall place Persons, generally taken for Wise, Faithful, and fit to administer and manage those things unto them committed.

That King *Henry* shall speedily endeavour to reduce the *Dolphin*, and the Earl of *Arminacke*, and all their Confederates, to their due Obedience to the Crown of *France*.

That King *Henry* shall cause all persons, of what degree, condition, or quality soever, to take a corporal Oath for their true Obedience to King *Charles* during Life, and after his Death to King *Henry* and his Heirs, and to admit no other King or Regent, nor conspire any thing against his, or their Persons or Estates, but disclose all mischiefs plotted or intended, for his or their hurt or loss.

That all possessions King *Henry* shall gain from any Rebel to King *Charles* (except in *Normandy*) shall be to the use and benefit of the *French* King: But upon voluntary taking the before-mentioned Oaths to be tendred and taken, then to retain their possessions freely.

That after the death of King *Charles*, the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and what else had been Conquered by King *Henry*, shall return to the Obeysance of the Crown of *France*.

That King *Henry* shall not over-burthen his Subjects of *France* with impositions, but in cases of urgent necessity, and then the same to be assessed and levied, according to the custom and manner of *France*, and not otherwise.

That after the death of King *Charles*, the two Realms of *France*, and *England*, shall Sovereignly be Ruled but by one Man, and not to admit two Kings, and that neither Crown should be subject to other, but each of them to retain, and enjoy their particular Customs, Privileges, Liberties, Immunities, Laws, and Preheminencies.

That diligent observation be used, to retain both Nations in fraternal concord, and mutual friendship, as Brethren and Friends.

That

That neither King shall conclude any Peace, and make any truce with the *Dolphin*, except they and the Duke of *Burgoyne*, all three consent thereto.

An. 1420.

R. 8.

That none shall be placed about the *French Kings* person, but *Frenchmen* such as he by his Council shall make choice of, and shall reside wheresoever in the Kingdom at his pleasure.

And lastly, That both the Kings under their great Seals, and all their Peers, Prelates, Comminalties, Gentry, and Corporations, under their usual Seals, shall ratifie and confirm the Articles of Agreement, and shall all Swear to observe them, to their uttermost Abilities and Power.

These thus concluded, were Proclaimed publicly, both in *England* and *France*, the Kings with their Nobility present, being solemnly Sworn to the observation of them.

This caused a solemn Procession, upon the fourteenth of *June* following in *London*, and a Sermon at *St. Pauls Cross* being *Friday*, wherein the Preacher amongst other things, affirmed that for perpetual manifestation of this so honorable an accord, that the old Seal was to be broken, and a new Great Seal to be made, wherein the Kings Title as Regent of *France*, and Heir apparant to the Crown thereof, and three Flower-de-Luces, instead of six formerly born in the Scutcheon of Arms was to be ingraven.

There was likewise a private League contracted between King *Henry* and the Duke of *Burgoyne*, to this effect;

A League with  
the Duke of  
*Burgoyne*.

That the Duke to the uttermost of his best Abilities, should endeavour the continuation of the former Agreements, that one of the Dukes Sisters should be Matched to one of the King's Brothers, that after the death of *Charles*, he should do Fealty to the King of *England*; that King *Henry* should prosecute the murtherers of the Duke's Father, with all extremity; and that if any of them, or the *Dolphin* should in any place be taken, that they should not be delivered without condigne punishment, without the consent of the two Kings, and the three Estates of both Kingdoms.

That the Duke should have assurance of Lands, for the annual payment, of the fee of twenty thousand pounds *Paris*, to him and his Wife, and the Heirs males betwixt them to be begotten; and that King *Henry* upon the receiving his homage, should confirm the same.

This thus finished, King *Henry* invites the King and Queen of *France*, with the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Burgoyne*, with all the Nobles of *France* there, to a stately Banquet, the Ceremonies whereof ended, he made unto them so pithy and pathetical Oration, declaring therein the utility of the union of the two Kingdoms, his right to them, on the surer side, with protestation of as true love, and affection to *France*, as if a Native thereof, and promises of tender regard, to be always by him extended towards them, with all Filial respect, and Dutiful observance to his Father and Mother in Law; and the true performance of all and every part of the Agreement; and so persuading them to mutual Love, and Friendship amongst themselves, and Truth and Loyalty to their Sovereign; with an expression of detestation of the late murther of the Duke of *Burgoyne*, and giving assurance of his desire to procure the revengement thereof he concluded.

The next day following, *James* the young King of *Scots* arrived; and upon



An. 1420.

R. 8.

The Creation  
of Garter,  
principal  
King of Arms.

upon the fourth day of *June*, King *Henry* with the French King, the King of *Scots*, the Duke of *Burgoyne*, the Prince of *Orange*, one and twenty Earls, five and forty Barons, with many Knights and Gentlemen, with an Army consisting of *French*, *English*, *Scottish*, *Irish*, and *Dutch*, to the number of sixty six thousand, marched towards the *Dolphin*, and upon the seventh day laid Siege to the Town of *Seins*, that sided with the *Dolphin*, which after four days Siege yielded, and thereof the Lord *Bonville* was made Captain; from thence they removed, having the Duke of *Bedford* in their company, who had brought out of *England*, large supplies of Men and Mony to *Monstreau en falte Ton*, which was taken by *Escalado*; here the murdered Duke of *Burgoyne* being buried, from thence his Son caused his bones to be taken up, and carried to *Digeon* in high *Burgoyne*, and there interred by his Father *Philip*; The Castle held out; and during the Siege thereof, King *Henry* Created an Officer of Arms, to be King of Heralds over the *Englishmen*, and entitled him *Garter*, whom he had formerly sent with offers of mercy to the Castle, but was by the Captain thereof reproachfully upbraided, for punishment of which his presumption, a Gibbet was erected, and in view of *Monsieur Guitry* the Castle Captain, Twelve of his Friends were Executed; whereupon the Castilians treated for peace, but the King in eight days together would not vouchsafe a Parle; so that after they had born the brunt of six weeks Siege, they were enforced, with saving of Lives, simply to yield. The Earl of *Warwick* was appointed to examine by poll all the Prisoners, and others that yielded, to find out any that had been privy, or parties to the murder of the Duke of *Burgoyne*; and was afterward made Governour both of Castle and Town. From thence the King marched to *Melun* upon *Seine*, which was besieged the thirteenth of *July*, the Captain whereof was *Barbafon* a *Gascoyne*, a skilful Souldier, and of approved valianey; and as *Hannibal* in War, was not more ready to invent stratagems, then *Quintus Fabius* to prevent them; so King *Henries* Counsel could not be more wilely to win, then *Barbafon* was wary to defend.

The King by Land and Water stopped all passages, making use of his before-mentioned floats, to pass his Souldiers over the River; yet *Barbafon* sallied out, and fell upon the Earl of *Warwick's* Quarter, where if he had not been the more valiantly resisted; the Duke of *Burgoyne's* Men had tasted of their fury. The Duke of *Bavier*, another of King *Charles* Son in Law, (but his Dutches was dead) with seven hundred well-appointed Horse-men, came to the Camp, which were presently listed under the Kings pay. *Barbafon* countermined some, and stopt other mines made by the *English*, and fought Hand to Hand in the Barriers with King *Henry*, yet notwithstanding all his circumspect care, and praiseworthy diligence; when he found he was to fight against the two bitter Arrows of Gods wrath, Famine and Pestilence, he humbled himself to the King, who pardoned all that were not guilty of the forenamed murder, whereof *Barbafon* being suspected, and others that were found faulty, were sent to *Paris* under the conduct of the Duke of *Clarence*, whom King *Charles* made Captain of *Dele* that City, and was accordingly admitted into the possession of all the strength thereof; and presently thereupon both the Kings with their Queens, the Duke of *Burgoyne* and his Dutches, with a Royal Train came thither, where they were most magnificently

cently entertained; the *French* King was lodged in the House of Saint Paul, and the King of *England*, in the Castle of *Lover*; Here the three States of *France*, anew under their Hands and Seal, in most authentick manner, ratified the former Agreement, the instruments whereof were delivered to the King of *England*, who sent them to be kept in his Treasury at *Westminster*,

The ratification of the agreement, layed up in the Treasury at Westminster.

Now King *Henry* began to exercise his Regency, and as a badge of his authority, he caused a new coin, which was called a Salute, to be made, whereon the Arms of *France* and *England* were quarterly stamped; He there heard the appeal of the Dowager of *Burgoyne* against the *Dolphin*, whose Advocates in his behalf, made large offers for satisfaction, but they were adjourned to another day. He placed and displaced divers Officers, and appointed the Duke of *Exeter*, with five hundred men, to the guard of *Paris*. Sir *Gilbert Umphrevile* was made Captain of *Melun*, and the Earl of *Huntington*, of *Bloyes de Vincennes*, King *Henry* awarded out Process against the *Dolphin*, to appear at the Marble Table at *Paris*, which he not obeying, sentence was denounced against him, as guilty of the murder of the Duke of *Burgoyne*, and by the sentence of the Parliament, the *Dolphin* was banished the Realm.

The King with his beloved Queen *Katherine*, the sixth of *January*, left *Paris*, and came to *Roan*, where he received homage of all the Nobility, as well such as were enobled by descent of the *French*, as such as were dignified by desert of the *English*; and making *Thomas*, Duke of *Clarence*, Lieutenant general of *France* and *Normandy*, and his Deputy in *Normandy*, the Earl of *Salisbury*: having finished his Christmas, he with his Queen went to *Amiens*, and from thence to *Callice*, and thence landing at *Dover*, came to *Canterbury*, and afterward thorow *London* to *Westminster*, where the Queen upon Saint *Mathewes* day, the fourth of *February*, with all Ceremonies, Rites, and accustomed Solemnities was Crowned. The King of *Scots* sitting at dinner in his Estate, but on his left hand the Queen; the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Kings Uncle the Bishop of *Winchester* being on his right hand, all were served with covered Messes of silver, but all the Feast was Fish, in observation of the *Lent* Season.

An. 1421.  
R. 9.

Queen Katherine Crowned.

King *Henry*, by his Ghostly Father being instructed, that the surest stone that can be laid for the foundation of future felicity, must be digged out of the quarry of *Piety*, first visited many places of devotion, by way of Pilgrimage, and then took his progress through the Land, and knowing that great evils may grow out of the smallest causes, if neglected, he by the way reformed all misdemeanours, whereof he received notice, hearing with a diligent ear, the complaints of his poor Subjects, taking order for the administering of justice, to high and poor, neither sparing the great for might, nor the mean for misery: And shewing that examples are the best Lectures, and vertue the best example; after he had set his Ministers a Copy thereof, he gave meeting to the Queen at *Leicester*, where they kept their *Easter*.

King Henrys Piety.

An. 1421.  
R. 9.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Clarence* making a Road into *Anjou*, with the Garrisons of *Normandy*, came to the City of *Angers*, where he Knighted Sir *William Rosse*, Sir *Henry Goddard*, Sir *Rowland Vider*, Sir *Thomas Bedford*, his natural Son: And returning home laden with prey, was advertised, that the Duke of *Alanson*, intended to intercept his passage; he therefore sent the Skowt-master, *Andrew Fogosa*, to discover the face of the

Ene-



The Duke of  
Clarence be-  
trayed.

Robert Umphre-  
ville here slain,  
was both Earl  
of Angus and  
Kyme.

1421.

A Parliament  
at Westminster.

King Henry  
returns to  
France.

An. 1421.  
R. 9.

Dreux be-  
sieged.

Enemy who being a treacherous *Lombard*, and having been corrupted by the Enemy, at his return reporteth their number to be but small, meanly armed, and worse ordered; so that if presently charged, there could be no resistance. The Dukes credulity causeth him to draw all his horses together, leaving the strength of the field, his Bowes and Bills behind, with them he makes towards the Enemy; the Traytour leading to a straight, where by his appointment an ambush was laid, that the Duke could neither retreat nor flee, which perceiving, the Duke with a valiant courage told the Earl of *Tanckerville*, that their chance was very hard, when no means was left, but to sell their Lives at the dearest rate to their Enemies, and so setting spurs to his horse, charged upon the Enemy: but over-laid with multitude, and over-wearied with fight, the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Tanckerville*, the Lord *Rosse*, the Earl of *Angus Kyme*, Sir *John Lumley*, and Sir *John Verend*, with above two thousand *English* were slain; the Earls of *Somerset*, *Suffolk*, and *Pearch*, Sir *John Berckley*, Sir *Ralph Neville*, Sir *William Bowes*, and threescore Gentlemen were taken Prisoners. The Bastard *Clarence* having an inkling of the *Lombards* treachery, brought on his Archers, whom the *French* perceiving to approach, fled with their Prisoners, leaving the dead undispoiled, by which means the Lord *Fitz-water*, and some others were found wounded, and almost stifled amongst the carcases; The bodies of the dead were by the foot-men buried, except the Duke of *Clarence*, who by Sir *John Beauford*, his base Son, the Duke dying without other issue, was conveyed to *England*, and buried at *Canterbury*, by his Father. This happened upon *Easter Eve*.

The King was at *Beverly*, when he had notice of his Brothers death, and presently thereupon, he dispatched away *Edmond* Earl of *Mortaigne* into *Normandy*, making him Lieutenant thereof. Then calls he his high Court of Parliament to *Westminster*, wherein he enforced the necessity of speedy pursuance of the *Dolphin* and his Adherents, and easiness of revenging the loss of his Brother, and their friends and allies, in case they would furnish him with Money, Men and Ammunition, being in readiness provided; whereupon the Clergy cheerfully granted two Tenths, and the Temporality readily one Fifteen, and for that the Kings haste could not well stay the wonted course of collection thereof by Parliamentary way.

The Bishop of *Winchester* layed forth to be received again of the dismes of the Spirituality twenty thousand pounds, so willing was the rich Cardinal to have his Brother *Clarence* death revenged.

The King thus provided with money, sent his Brother the Duke of *Bedford*, with the Army to *Callice*, consisting of four thousand men at Arms, and four and twenty thousand Archers, himself about the middle of *May* followeth, and safely Arriving at *Callice* he hastened to relieve *Chartres*, whom the *Dolphin* with seven thousand men had besieged, and coming to *Maunt*, heard that the *Dolphin* was retired to *Tours*. The Duke of *Burgoyne*, who had received and feasted the King, with his Father and Mother-in-law at *Monstruell*, and from thence came with the King to *Maunt*, went back to *Piccardy*, to resist the insolencies of Sir *Jacques de Harcourt*.

The King of *Scots*, with the Duke of *Glocester*, about the eighth of *July*, besieged *Dreux*, which upon the eighth of *August* compounded; That if they were not rescued before the twentieth of that moneth, to deliver up the Town, the Souldiers with their goods, to march whither they would, upon

upon which day no rescue came, they had all leave to depart, except one *Searl* an *Englishman*, fled thither for Treason out of *Roan*, whom they presently Executed, and the Town was delivered to the King of *Scots*, whereof the Earl of *Worcester* was made Captain, and Sir *Henry Mortimer* Bailiff. The King pursued the *Dolphin* from place to place, but he was too fleet of Foot, to be easily overtaken: In the way King *Henry* surprized the Town of *Baugency*, but took them all to mercy that craved it; the like he did at *Rugemounte*, from thence Victual failing, he went to *Orleans*, and from thence to *Vignei Saint Yon*, where he staid a while to refresh his Men, and from thence to *Paris*, and having there fitted himself with supplies, he went and sat down before *Menix* in *Brye*, a Town no less well Victualled then *Manned*, and no better furnished then fortified, nevertheless, after many assaults, the besieged forsook the Walls, and drew into the Market-place, where they began Works for their defence; from whence being likewise beaten, the King had possession of that, and all the Fortresses in the Isle of *France*, in *Lorvaus*, in *Brye*, and in *Champaine*.

The Duke of *Bedford* in the Kings absence, called a Parliament in *England*, in which was granted to the King, towards the maintenance of his Wars, one Fifteen to be paid in such monies, as at the time of the grant were current.

Upon *St. Nicholas* day, Queen *Katherine* was brought to bed of a Son at *Windfor*, who was by the Duke of *Bedford*, and *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Countess of *Holland*, Christned by the Name of *Henry*, whereof when the King had notice, out of a Prophetick disposition, he said, *Good Lord, I Henry born at Monmouth, shall small time Reign, and much get; and Henry born at Windfor, shall long Reign and lose all, but Gods will be done.*

Divers *Frenchmen* under the leading of *Oliver de Many*, who had given Faith never to bear Arms against the King of *England*, entred *Normandy*, and did rob and spoil the Country; but being by the Earl of *Suffolk* encountered, he was after a long and desperate Fight taken, and all his Confederates routed; the King notwithstanding his breach of Faith, put him not to death, but sent him Prisoner to *England*, where he died.

The *Dolphin* laid Siege to *Cosney*, who made composition, that if they were not rescued by the King of *England*, within ten days to surrender. The King was so intente to the rescue, that he over-heat himself with travel, and coming to *Senlis*, found himself so distempered, that he was inforced to remain there, and send his Brother Duke of *Bedford*, to prosecute the design, who effected the same: The *Dolphin* upon his approach, raised the Siege, and dishonorably retired into *Berry*, whereof in mockage he was after called King of *Berry*. The Queens untimely visit, who not long before having taken Shipping at *Southampton*, with a gallant Company of fresh-men raised, and furnished at her own charge, under the conduct of the Duke of *Bedford*, was come into *France*, whose coming did much increase the Kings Fever, in so much that by the persuation of the Doctors, and direction of the Kings Council against her own will, and the Kings desire, whose ardent affection unto her could hardly brook her absence, she left the King, who after her departure, growing worse and worse, was removed to *Bloys*, where within few days he yielded up his Conquests, to the all-Conqueror, who sent him Crowned with never-dying Victory to the place of ever-living Glory.

An. 1422.  
R. 9.

A Parliament  
in the Kings  
absence called

The birth of  
*Henry* the VI.

The *Dolphin*  
besieged *cos-*  
*ney*.

King *Henry*  
dieth.

Some-



An. 1422.

R. 9.

The Duke of  
Bedford, made  
General of  
Normandy.The Duke of  
Glocester Pro-  
rector.

Somewhat before his departure out of this World, he made the Duke of Bedford, Lieutenant General of Normandy, and Regent of the Kingdom of France; and the Duke of Glocester, Protector of England, and his Sons Person, exhorting all to be true and friendly to the Duke of Burgoine, to be at unity amongst themselves, to be Loyal to their young Prince, to be serviceable to his dearly beloved Queen, to hold and preserve, what he by his Valour and Gods assistance had won; never to conclude contract of amity with the Dolphin, or the Duke of Alanson, until they had submitted themselves to the Kings grace: and so giving God thanks for all his former favours, and blessings bestowed upon him, he died the last of August, 1422. in the eight and thirtieth year of his age, when he had reigned nine years, five months, and four and twenty days; his Body was carried to Westminster, and there buried amongst his Ancestors, his character appeareth best when it is referred to his recollection of himself; for as he was in youth the most untowardly, so in his riper years he approved himself of great nobleness and vertue: his Stature was tall, his Personage slender, but very strong and active; he was, saith Walsingham, *modestus vultus, actu magnanimus*, of courage Invincible, and fortunately Victorious in all his Battels, never receiving check in any; of nature Liberal, of disposition Affable, of a generous Spirit, of indefatigable Constancy; he was Wise and Provident in Counsel, in Judgment Upright and Just, in his Speech Sober, in Countenance Majestick, in Comportment Magnanimous, born and bred for Conquest, of Life Unreprovable, and in his Death generally greatly lamented; in brief, his deeds gave cause of admiration to Contemporaries, and imitation to others, as having Spirit to dare, and a Power to do bravely: he was married to Katharine, Daughter of Charles the sixth King of France, whose company she enjoyed but two years and three months, by whom he had Issue only Henry, that succeeded him in the Crown: Her affections after tyed her to Owen Theodor, a Gentleman of no extraordinary Linage, but absolute for the lineaments of his Body, by whom she had Issue three Sons, Edmond, Jasper, and Owen: Edmond was after Earl of Richmond, and married Margaret, Daughter and sole Heir of John Duke of Somerset, Grand-child to John of Gaunt (by his Son John) and by her had Issue Henry Earl of Richmond, afterward King of England, by the Name of Henry the Seventh. This Margaret by the approvement or command of her Son, made orders, yet extant, for great Estates of Noble Women and Ladies, for Precedency and Attire, which orders at this day are greatly abused by mean persons to the wrong and dishonour of true deservers. 2. Jasper was Earl of Pembroke, and Duke of Bedford.

THE  
LIFE and REIGN  
OF  
King HENRY VI.



**H**ENRY the Sixth, born at *Windsor*, an Infant of nine months old, began his Reign the last of *August*, *Anno Dom. 1422*. The Government of the Realms pre-appointed by the Father on his death-bed, and after confirmed by the Nobility, was committed to *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester*. The guard of his Person, to *Thomas Duke of Exeter*, and *Henry Beauford*, Bishop of *Winchester*; and to *John Duke of Bedford*, was appointed the Regency of *France*. This triple twine, until the time unhappily untwisted, kept the Wheels in orderly motion, that guided the Clock of good Government in this Realm; so that there was in the beginning of their proceeding, no disproportion or disagreement betwixt them, but all things were continued advisedly and well. The Protectors knowing that it is Treachery to Wisdom in managing great Affairs, not to be directed by the clew of advise, made choise of grave and discreet Councillors; by whose approvement he made provision of all things necessary, as well for quiet Governing the *English*, as for retaining the Conquered parts of *France* in obedience, and further Conquest of such as yet were refractory: leaving nothing undone that might conduce to the honour and happines of the Estate of the young King and the Realm.

The Regent of *France* was not backward on his part, but endeavoured all that was possible, to second the Protectors care: But the death of *Charles* the sixth, and the Proclaiming the *Dolphin* King of *France*, by the Name of *Charles* the Seventh, gave the Regent just cause to suspect the tergiversation of the *French*. Whereupon he increaseth the Garrisons, and sufficiently furnisheth all places of import, with Men and Ammunition, exhorting the *Normans*, to continue constant, according to their Fealty made to the King of *England*: On the other side, the new King of *France* makes provision in all places, to draw his Forces together: And in the mean time, sends the Lord *Grandville* to *Pont Melan*, who surprized the same, putting all the *English* Soldiers to the Sword; for revenge whereof, and the recovery of the Town, the Regent sent the ever to be commended Commander, *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, with convenient Forces thither, who

M

for

*An. 1422.*  
*R. I.*

The *Dolphin*  
Proclaimed  
King.

*Pont Melan*  
surprized by  
the *French*.

Reduced by  
the Earl of  
*Salisbury*.



An. 1422.  
R. 3.

The League  
renewed with  
*Burgoyne*.

A Conspiracy  
at *Paris*.

Prevented  
and punished.

The French  
defeated.

The King of  
*Scots* marieth  
the Duke of  
*Somerjets*  
Daughter.

for the space of two months, so straightly beleagred the same, that the Lord *Granville* surrendered the same, and sware (but falsly) to be a true Man to the King of *England*: Hereof was Sir *Henry Mortimer* made Captain, and Sir *Richard Vernon* of the Castle. From thence he marched to *Seyne*, which he took by assault, and put all the Soldiers (except the Captain Sir *William Maryn*) to the Sword, and thereof made Captains, Sir *Hugh Godding*, and Sir *Richard Aubemond*, the first of the Town, the other of the Castle.

The Regent, the Duke of *Burgoyne*, and John Duke of *Britain*, meet at *Amiens*, and renewed the old League, and further enlarged it; to be defensive and offensive respectively: And knowing that affinity for the most part, is the truest entertainer of Friendship, and unquestionable obligation of amity; the Regent afterward marieth *Anne*, the Sister of *Burgoyne*, at *Trois*: In the mean time the *Parisians* conspired, to have let in the new King into *Paris*; but the day before the night appointed for his admission, the Duke with his power entred, apprehended the Conspirators, and put them to publick Execution; which done, he furnished all the Forts, and places of Strength with *Englishmen*, sent Sir *John Falstaffe*, who took in *Pacy*, and *Coursay*, two strong Castles, whilst he with his Forces took in *Traynells* and *Bray* upon *Seyne*.

The Constable the while, with all the new Kings Forces, laid Siege to *Cravant* in *Burgoyne*. But the Regent and the Duke of *Burgoyne*, sent their Forces under the conduct of the never-sufficiently to be praised Earl of *Salisbury*, who having with great difficulty, and small loss passed the River of *Tone*, seconded by the *Burgonians*, set upon the *French*, and after a long and doubtful fight, put the *French* to flight; slaying about eighteen hundred Knights and Gentlemen of note, and three thousand common Soldiers, *Scottish* and *French*; there were taken Prisoners, the Constable of *France*, who had lost an Eye in the fight, the Earl of *Ventadour*, Sir *Alexander Merydyn*, Sir *Lewis Ferigny*, and two and twenty hundred Gentlemen: Of the *English* part were slain, Sir *John Gray*, Sir *William Hall*, Sir *Gilbert Halfall*, one of the Marshals of the Field, *Richard ap Maddock*, and one and twenty hundred Soldiers, one with another.

From hence the Earl led his Forces to *Montaguillon*, and sate down before it, and after five months Siege took it, whilst the Duke of *Suffolk* took in the two strong Castles of *Coucy*, and *le Roch*.

The Protector in the mean time, ransomed and enlarged the young King of *Scots*, (who for many years had been Prisoner) taking Homage and Fealty of him, for the Crown of *Scotland*; the tenour whereof is thus Recorded;

I James Steward King of *Scots*, shall be true and faithful unto you Lord Henry, by the Grace of God, King of *England* and *France*, the Noble and Superiour Lord of *Scotland*; and to you I make my fidelity, for the said Kingdom, which I hold and claim of you: And I shall bear you my Faith, and Fidelity of Life and Limb, and Worldly honour, against all Men, and faithfully I shall acknowledge, and shall do you service due for the Kingdom of *Scotland* aforesaid; so God me help and these Holy Evangelists.

And after with consent of all the Nobility, gave him to Wife the Lady *Jane*, Daughter to the deceased Duke of *Somerjet*, and Cousin German to the King, with a large Dowry, besides many great and rich gifts bestowed by the Mother, Uncles, and other her Kindred; but no courtesie

courtesie or bounty could keep him from proving unfaithful and unthankful. The Protector with his accustomed provident circumspection to prevent dangers, that want of supplies might bring to the Army, sent over to the Regent ten thousand well-furnished Soldiers, with all things whereof he might stand in need; with which fresh succors, he won and valiantly conquered many Towns, Castles, and places of Strength; whose Power the *Frenchmen* not able to withstand, began to fasten the Fox's tail to the Lions skin, and what they could not by courage compass, they attempted by crafty subtilty to accomplish: first they work upon the inconstancy of the Duke of *Britain*, and his Brother *Arthur*, by King *Henry* the Fifth created Earl of *Ivry*; these two, by gifts and promises, things that blind the Eyes of the treasonably minded wise, they suborned perfidiously to deliver over into their possession the Castle of *Crotoy* and *Ivry*; and what the *English* had won by true man-hood and Valour, they stole away with craft and treachery, but little to their praise or profit; for the *English* before the Garrisons were settled, fell upon *Crotoy*, and took the prey out of the Leopards jaws, and like unkind hosts made them pay too dear a price for their lodgings. *Crotoy* thus regained, the Regent straightly begirt *Ivry*, and by secret Mining, fierce Assaults, and violent Batteries, so shook the Walls, that composition was made to yield it up, if not relieved by a certain time: The Regent was throughly resolved to set up his rest, and to abide battel what Forces soever should appear, and thereof permitted the besieged to send notice to the *French King*: The Duke of *Alanson* thereupon with sixteen thousand *French* approached; but when he perceived the *English* were ready prepared to receive him, according to the *French* fashion, at that time, to brag much and do little, he wheeled about to *Vernoil*, whereas perjury is the concomitant of every other sin, he joyned it to his cowardise, swearing to the Townsmen, that he had put the Regent to Flight, and had beaten him out of the Field, and rescued *Ivry*: by his false report, he got *Vernoil*, whilst the Regent had *Ivry* surrendered unto him; which being strengthened and furnished, he followed the Cowards to their Cunny-borough at *Vernoil*; who by the incouragement of some fresh Companies of *Scots* come unto their Succor, came to a Battel in the Field, where the *English* with the loss of two thousand one hundred common Soldiers, and two of the Nobility, Lord *Dudley* and Lord *Charleton*, got the Glory of the day, and slew of their Enemies, five Earls, two Vicounts, and twenty Barons, and above seven thousand other of the *French*; besides two thousand seven hundred *Scots* lately arrived: The Duke of *Alanson* himself with the Bastard of *Alanson*, the Lord of *Hormyt*, and divers other *French*, and Sir *John Turnbull*, and two hundred Gentlemen, besides common Soldiers, were taken Prisoners. This Battel was strook the twenty eighth day of *August*; *Vernoil* hereupon without Battery or Assault, upon promise of safety of life only, was delivered; and thereof Sir *Philip Hall* made Captain, and sufficient Garrison left him: from thence the Army marched to *Roan*, and from thence to *Paris*, both which places were at strife which should exceed other in freedom, of welcom and loving entertainment to the Regent.

This overthrow so weakned the new King, that he was inforced to quit the Country, and went to *Poyteers*, where he established his high Court of Parliament, and laboureth his own establishment. The valiant Earl of *Salisbury* with ten thousand Men, taketh in the strong Town of *Maunts*,

An. 1427.

R. 6.

Crotoy lost and recovered.

The *English* are Victorious at *Vernoil*.

An. 1424.

The reduction of *Vernoil*.



An. 1424.  
R. 3.

The French  
frighted with  
the Name of  
Salisbury.

the Town of *St. Susan*, le fort *St. Bernard*, and others; from thence he went into *Anjou*, where he performed such Heroick acts, that his very Name grew terrible in all *France*; for instance, The new high Constable, perfidious *Richmond*, in hope to do somewhat to advance the reputation of his new Office, with forty thousand Men, layeth Siege to the good Town of *St. James* in *Bezion*; the Garrison whereof, consisted but of six hundred *English*, who being droven to some extremity, bravely (I might say desperately) at one time sallied forth, crying *St. George*, a *Salisbury*; the *Frenchmen* fearing that they had some token given, that *Salisbury* was come to the rescue, or that he was behind in the Town with more Forces, were so suddenly affrighted, that the craven Cowards, casting away their Weapons, ran all away, saving some few that yielded themselves prisoners; leaving all their Tents, fourteen Pieces of Ordnance, forty Barrels of Powder, three hundred Pipes of Wine, two hundred Pipes of Bisket and Flourer, two hundred Pieces of Raisins and Figs, five hundred Barrels of Herrings, much Armor, and some Treasure.

At this time Sir *John Montgomery*, and Sir *John Falstaffe*, with two thousand Men, entred into *Anjou* and *Mayne*, and took the Castles of *Beaumont*, *Vicount*, *Teune*, *Silly*, *Osce*, *Courcieriers*, *Ronsay*, *Vascke*, *Covetenement*, and very many others; so that it appeareth, at that time, it was, but for the *English* to ask and have, so pittifully were the *French* cow'd with the Regents prosperity.

The *French* were come to their old course of fraud, and had compounded with a *Gascoyne* Captain there, for the delivery of *Alanson* to the Enemy; notice being given hereof, the Lord *Willoughby*, and Sir *John Falstaffe*, with two thousand Men, were sent to spoil the Market, who encountering with the chief Merchant *Charles de Villiers*; who with two hundred Horse, and three hundred Foot, were come to the place appointed for their entry; took and slew them all, except some few Horse, which saved themselves by flying away. The Lord *Willoughby* with his Troops, returned to the Earl of *Salisbury*, who victoriously proceeded, taking in and demolishing, above forty Castles and strong Piles; the News thereof in *England* caused publick Processions, and general Thanksgiving to God, in *London* and other places. Nevertheless, an unkind variance, and a jar betwixt the Protector and the Bishop of *Winchester* Lord Chancellor arising, endangered the quiet of the Commonwealth, for the appeasing whereof, the Regent having substituted the Earl of *Warwick* Lieutenant General in his absence, came into *England*, where a Parliament being convoked, he therein discreetly Arbitrated, and compounded all differences betwixt the Protector and *Winchester*, and to the comfort of the Council, and content of all, stinted the quarrel. In honour whereof the King of *England* kept a solemn Feast, at which time the Regent dubbed the King Knight, who invested with that dignity many of his Servants, and created *Richard*, Son of *Richard* late Earl of *Cambridge*, Duke of *York*; and restored *John Mowbray* to the Duchy of *Norfolk*.

In the mean time the Earl of *Warwick* Conquered many Strong places in *Mayne*, and made preparation to fight a set Battel, whereunto he was challenged by the *French*; but they said never the sooner for a hasty word, their Hearts were in their Heels, and in stead of coming on to fight, they took their flight another way, a day before the prefixed time of Battel.

All things peaceable settled in *England*, the Regent with the Bishop of  
*Winchester*

A jar betwixt  
the Brothers  
in *England*  
draws the Re-  
gent into *Eng-  
land*.

The young  
King Knigh-  
ted.

*Winchester* returned into *France*, where at the intercession of the Duke of *Burgoyne*, the Duke of *Alanson* was ransomed for two hundred thousand Crowns. The Bishop of *Winchester* returned to *Callice*, where he was invested with the Hat, habit and dignity of a Cardinal, I dare not think because he was a Clergy Man, that he ambitiously affected, or otherwise contracted for that place: but the advantage of a Bull from the Pope was a means for him, in short time to gather a great mass of Mony, so that many wondred at his wealth, but few approved his proceedings.

Whilst thus in *France*, the *English* prosperously aided by the Almighty Power, in a good quarrel every where prevailed, *Humphry* Duke of *Glocester*, who inveigled (by the enticing behaviour of an unconstant Woman) had married more for lust (which always hunts after new pleasures) than for love, which is contented with due delights, *Jaqueline* of *Bavier* Countess of *Henalt*, *Holland*, and *Zeland*, who had formerly been coupled in Matrimony to *John* Duke of *Brabant* yet living (with whom she had lived as Man and Wife ten months) with his said Lady, crost the Seas to *Bergen Hennalt*, and took in her right the homage of the Country, which not a little disquieted her former Husband, and much displeased his Brother the Duke of *Burgoyne*, insomuch that the Duke of *Burgoyne* relying of his familiarity with the *English*, and their respect to Honour, wrote a kind Letter unto the Duke, wherein he intimated, how he was abused by his said Lady, and how great a disrepute, he would cast upon his actions, if upon notice of her Husbands the Duke of *Brabants* claim, both to her and her possessions, he did not freely relinquish both unto him; withal admonishing him with the danger, of holding another Mans Wife, and usurping her first Husbands Rights and Titles.

But the Duke of *Burgoyne* perceiving that he sowed but in the Sands, whilst he wrote in that kind, sends him a Challenge on part of the Duke of *Britain*, to fight with him body to body according to the Law of Arms; but *Glocesters* hot affection being by this time somewhat slackened, and remembering himself, how much his Honour by these courses was blemished, he did neither accept, nor deny the Challenge; but only craved time to return into *England*, to dispose of his Estate, and then he would give him requirable satisfaction: In the mean time, the incendiary of these turmoyles is betray'd by the *Montists* to the Duke of *Burgoyne*, who conveyed her to *Gaunt*, from whence she escaped into *Holland*, where she made a defensive War against her Husband, and the Duke of *Burgoyne*, who both laid hard unto her Territories.

But Pope *Martin*, having pronounced the contract of Matrimony with *Glocester*, utterly unlawful; made the Dukes more earnest in the prosecution against the Lady: in the mean time the Duke of *Glocester*, though he declined his affection, not willing the world should think he deserted her altogether, sent the Lord *Fitz-walter* to her aid, with a power of Englishmen, who joyning with the Dutches Forces about *Brewers Haven* near *Zerix*, was encountred by the Duke of *Brabant*, who gave them a great overthrow (the foulness of the cause, and the unjustness of the quarrel, having blunted the wonted resolution of the *English*) the news of that overthrow, and of the Popes sentence coming together to the Duke of *Glocesters* Ears, to comfort himself against the one, and to free himself from the other, he gave his old Wife a discharge, and forsaking *Jaqueline*, takes for a second, *Eliaenor* Daughter of Lord *Cobham* of *Streborough* his old Mistress.

An. 1424.

R. 3.

The Regent  
returns to  
France.Burgoyne by  
Letters dis-  
swades Gloc-  
ster from his  
new Wife.



An. 1424.  
R. 3.

The name of  
Salisbury a  
Bug-bear to  
the French.

The Constable of *France*, with forty thousand men, besieged the Town of *St. James de Benuron*, and having planted his battery, made a breach, as they deemed, assaultable; which whilst the *French* were straining courtesie, who should first enter, Sir *Nicholas Burdet*, with all his forces (leaving the Townsmen to receive the assailants) sallies forth, both they within and those without, crying aloud, a *Salisbury*, a *Suffolk*; the names whereof stroke such a terrour amongst the besiegers, that they either disorderly ran away, or stood like men amaz'd, till their throats were cut, of which six hundred were slain, two hundred drowned in the ditches, fifty taken Prisoners, and eighteen Standards were taken, with one Banner; The Constable, was glad to quit the place with great loss, and retired to *Fongers*.

1426.

Ponterson ta-  
ken by the  
English.

The Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Scales* with seven thousand men besieged *Ponterson*, many weeks together; in which time all provision grew very scanty; infomuch, that the Lord *Scales* for the relief of their so pressing necessities, with three thousand men foraged a great way into the Enemies Countrey, and in his return with plenty of provision, was encountred with six thousand *French*, but he slew many hundreds of them, and took a thousand and odd Prisoners, and so came in safety to the Camp. The Enemy had raised a great power, to raise the Siege, but by the way they fell upon the Castle of *Ramfort* (which the Garrison of *Susan* had a little before surpris'd) and there they stayed until *Ponterson* was yielded, and well furnished, and fortified by the Earl of *Warwick*, who was returned to the Regent.

Mounts re-  
taken.

A conspiracy of the Clergy and Magistrates in *Mounts* so prevailed, that the Marshals of *France*, with five hundred men, about mid-night came to the Town Walls, where the guard of *English*, by those that seemed their friends, and of one company, were suddenly massacred, and setting open the gates, gave way to the Enemy to enter; upon the alarum given, the Earl of *Suffolk* with the surviving *English* (according to directions formerly given, in case any treachery should be plotted) withdrew to the Castle, wherein they were sharply assailed by the *French*; who perceiving no good to be done upon them by assault, knowing how ill they were provided for necessities for a Siege, carelessly neglected them, falling to ransacking houses, and making good cheer; whereof the Lord *Talbot* having intelligence by Captain *Goffe*, whom the Lord *Talbot* (who from *Alanson* was by night marches with some forces, come within two miles of *Mounts*) had sent to discover the state of the *French*; he secretly gave notice to the Earl of *Suffolk*, who at the hour appointed, sallied forth of the Castle; at what time the Lord *Talbot* was ready with his Troops, and on both sides Crying, Saint George a *Talbot*, they fell upon the careless *French*, who lost four hundred of their best men, the residue were all taken, the Town regained; and the Conspirators, thirty Citizens, twenty Priests, and fifteen Fryers, found out, condemned, and executed.

1427.

Now the triple cord began to be untwisted, and one of the great supporters of the young Kings weakness, the right noble *Thomas Beauford* (Son of *John of Gaunt*, and *Katherine Swynford*) Duke of *Exeter*, Protector of the King, makes King *Henry* his Heir; and at *East-Greenwich* in *Kent*, takes leave of this mortal life; This *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter* married *Margaret* the Daughter of Sir *Thomas Nevill* of *Hornby* Castle, but had no issue by her. To supply his room, as Tutor to the King, was the Earl of *Warwick* appointed, whose place in *France* was supplied by the Earl of *Salisbury*,

*Salisbury* the terrour of the *French*, who with five thousand men came to *Orleanse*, and for an entrance to his imployment, with one thousand old Souldiers, joyned with the new, he besieged the City. The Bastard *Orleanse* had by the space of five miles round, spoiled whatsoever might help or advantage the *English*; he himself undertaking the defence of the great Fort, built upon the East-bridge; from whence making a *French* bravado, in shew more than a man at first, he retired weaker indeed than a woman, with loss of many of his Souldiers, to the Town, leaving the *English* in possession of the Fort. From an High Tower in this Bulwark, out of a Window therein, the besiegers observed the passages of the Townsmen; about two moneths after the Siege began, the noble Duke of *Salisbury*, thinking to inform himself of the state of the Town, unhappily looking out of this Window, with Sir *Thomas Gargrave*, a great shot from the Town, striking the bars of the Window, the splinters whereof were driven into his head and face, of which wound, within eight dayes after he died. He married *Elleanor*, Daughter of *Thomas Holland*, Earl of *Kent*, by whom he had issue, only *Anne*, married to *Richard Nevill*, one of the younger Sons of *Ralph Nevill*, Earl of *Westmerland*: he had a base Son named *John*. This Earls death was a second weakening of the young Kings expected triumphs; for two limbs of his budding tree, of careful protection and thriving direction, are lopt off by death, and a third began to be putrified. The Earl of *Suffolk* succeedeth in the charge of the Siege, who finding necessities wanting, sendeth Sir *John Falstaffe* for supplies; the Regent furnisheth him speedily, and in his return the Lord *de la Brets*, nine thousand strong, endeavours to intercept him, but being discovered, Sir *John* resolved to abide the charge, placeth his carriages behind, the horse next, and the foot before, lyming his Bows with Bill-men, pitching stakes behind the Archers, who having loosed their first volley, retired behind the stakes, on which the *French* forgetting their former defeats that way, ran and gored their horses, and were forced to light against their wills, with a knock on the crown with a brown Bill, laid on with a strong arm, by which their Vantguard being disordered, the Battel made a stand; which Sir *John* perceiving, cryeth out, Saint George; the flie; which was no sooner spoken than it proved true, for therewith they fled, and in the fight and chase, the *French* lost two thousand five hundred men, with the Lords *de la Brets*, and *William Steward*, and eleven hundred were taken Prisoners; with whom, and a rich booty, they came to the Camp before *Orleanse*. Hereof the besieged having notice, hopeles of help from the *French* King, they offered to submit themselves to the protection of the Duke of *Burgoyne*, who was contented to accept them, upon the Regents consent.

An. 1427.  
R. 6.

*Salisbury* untimely slain.

The policy of the *French*.

This motion pleased many of the Council of War, but the General, and the rest more considerate, did mislike it. Whereupon the General returned this answer, That since the King his Master had bestowed so long time, and exhausted so much Treasure, and spent so much victuals, besides the uncomparable loss of the Earl of *Salisbury*, slain there; he could not but think it would much redound to his own dishonour, and the disparagement of the renown of the Kingdom of *England*; If now the besieged were driven to that extremity, that they were not able to subsist of themselves; that any other than those that had beaten the bush, should have the birds. Then made the besieged means to the Duke of *Alanson*, who used such diligence, that taking advantage of too much slackness of watch in the Camp,



An. 1427.  
R. 6.

The death of  
Salisbury, the  
downfall of  
the English  
good Fortune.  
Both Wind  
and Sun a-  
gainst the En-  
GLISH.

The French  
every where  
revolt.

The Regent  
defies the  
French King.

Camp, being secured (as they thought) from danger of sally from within, or approach of Enemy from without, he furnished the Town both with fresh provision and forces, under the coverture of a dark and most tempestuous night, which put such fresh spirit into the Citizens, that they made a brave sally out, and by fine force carried the Bulwark upon the Bridge, and another Fort, and slew six hundred *English*, and adventur'd upon the Bastile, in which the Lord *Talbot* commanded, who not being used to be coopt up, valiantly issued out, and bravely repulsed them back, with great slaughter and confusion, into the Town. But the next day, the Earl of *Suffolk* left the siege, and dispersed his Army to their several places of garrison; and in his return, the Lord *Talbot* surprized the Town and Castle of *Lavall*. But now the wheel of fortune began to turn, and disasters and disgraces fell huddling one upon the neck of another on the *English* part.

And first the Duke of *Alanson*, having raised a great power, took by assault the Town of *Jargenx*, and therein the Earl of *Suffolk*, and one of his Brothers, and slew Sir *Alexander Pole*, another of their Brothers, and many other Prisoners in cold blood, because of the contention among the *French*, to whom the Prisoners did belong: Then the Lords, *Talbot*, *Scales*, and *Hungerford*, with five thousand Men, going to fortifie the Town of *Meum*, were encountred by the said Duke, and *Arthur* of *Britain*, and three and twenty thousand men, who fiercely assailed them. The *English* Lords for a time endured the shock, and enterchanged some blows, but oppressed with multitude, the three Lords are taken Prisoners, all fore wounded, twelve hundred of their Company slain, the residue hardly escaping to *Meum*: where they used their best forces, to fortifie themselves against future assaults. These disasters were seconded by the perfidious surrender of many Towns and strong Holds to the *French* King; who now encouraged by these good successes, marched into *Champaigne*, where by Composition he took the chief City thereof, *Troyes*, *Chalons* rebelleth, and enforceth their Captain to yield it up; by whose example the Citizens of *Reme* do the like; wherein the *French* King is anew Proclaimed, and there with accustomed Ceremonies anointed and crowned, and is thereby furthered with the voluntary submission of many Towns, Castles, strong holds, who from every part sent their subjective messages unto him.

The Duke of *Bedford*, with ten thousand *English*, besides *Normans*, marched out of *Paris*, sending Letters of defiance to the *French* King, affirming therein, that he contrary to the accord, betwixt King *Henry* the fifth, and King *Charles*, Father to him that was but an usurper, by the instigation of a feminine Devil, had taken upon him, the Title and dignity of King of *France*, and by deceitful and unjust means, had surreptitiously stoll (not conquered) and kept divers Cities and places of import, belonging to the Crown of *England*; for legal proof whereof, by stroke of Battel he was come into that part, and thereby would justifie his Chartel true, and cause just, leaving allowance to his Enemy to make choice of the place, and in the same he should be sure of Battel.

The new King, howsoever perplexed, set a good countenance on the matter, and told the Herald, that he would sooner seek his Master, than his Master should need to seek him, and without further answer dismissed him. The Regent thereupon maketh towards him, and making choice of an indifferent place, encampeth in sight of the *French*: and though the King made shew of readines to fight, yet he turned faces to the left hand and marched away.

away. The Regent followed him, but could not overtake him, till he came near *Senlis*, where the King was encamped. The Armies on both sides were embattailed, and kept in array, as long as it was light, and so again the next day the Dukes light Horfmen, and the *Normans*, made many attempts, and provoked some skirmishes, as it were to give the *French* a taste of their resolution; but the King not willing further to provoke such forward Cavaliers, in the dead of the night wheeled about and fled to *Bray*. The Duke forecasting that this was but a Plot to draw him further from *Paris*, of whose fidelity, he had no great assurance, followed no further, but with great grief to the Soldiers returned thither. Whilst he lay there, he received intelligence, That his Brother the Cardinal, was with some Forces at *Dover* (in prosecution of some pact formerly made betwixt Pope *Martyn* and him) ready to transport them into *Boheme*, to arbitrate a point of Religion by the Sword; he thereupon writes to him, and to his Brother of *Glocester*, thereby intimating to them the wants he had of present supply, with such forcible reasons persuading, that he prevailed, and the Cardinal with his Forces (raised to another place and purpose) came to the Regent to *Paris*: The Regent now the stronger by these new Forces, having intelligence, that the King of *France* was marched into *Champaigne*, followeth him, and finding him encamped upon the Mount *Pibal*, between *Senlis* and *Champaigne*, he pitched in sight of them, and hourly provoked him to come down, by the *Norman* Horse, who braved him to his Trenches, beating back such as came forth to skirmish, without need of seconds; when thus in sight of each other they had lain for a time, the Regent expecting to be charged, they having double the advantage of the number, the *French* follow their last copy, and silently retired to *Crispis*. The Regent perceiving their irresolution to fight, licensed the Cardinal to go his pretended journey with his Forces, whilst he and his marched back to *Paris*; of whose constancy, he was, and not without cause, ever warily jealous, yet gave them no cause of discovery thereof.

An. 1428.

R. 7.

The Armies on both sides in array.

Upon *St. Leonard's* day the 6. of *November* 1429. King *Henry* being not full eight years old, was with great solemnity Sacred-anointed, and Crowned King at *Westminster*; at whose Coronation were made thirty six Knights of the *Bath*.

An. 1429.

Henry the Sixth Crowned.

About this time, the *French* King, by the instigation of that she impostor *la Pucelle*, who had bewitched the credulity of those times, and was for the most part esteemed as a Prophetess; and she again to give some colour to settle this opinion, did dare, and do many things beyond the reach, modesty, and strength of a Woman, riding Manlike astride, and in Armor, making shew of Manhood, and giving forth in speeches, not without some ostentation, that she was a messenger sent from God, to reconquer out of the Hands of the *English*, whatsoever they had now in possession there. By the subtle working of this *Medean Virago*, the *French* King was received into *Champaigne*; and *Senlis* and *Bravoys* were sans blow or battery rendred unto him, whilst the Lord *Longevile* took by surprise the Castle of *Aumarle*, and slew all the *English* there.

The Castle of *Galiard* was rendred upon composition, where in an iron grated Chamber, they found the Lord *Barbason*, who having sworn to be true Prisoner, could not be induced to come out of that place, until Captain *Kingston*, to whom he had given that Oath, was upon safe conduct recalled, to acquit him, which was accordingly done. A rare example of constancy

The constancy of the Lord Barbason.



An. 1429.

R. 8.

constancy in him, considering how little Conscience the rest of his Nation at that time made of an Oath; yet it may not be forgotten, that of those that were sworn at *Harfne*, either to send their ransoms agreed upon, or to render their Bodies prisoners at a day prefixed at *Callice*; of seventy three, not one Gentleman failed, but either sent his Ransom, or yielded their Bodies to the Kings mercy.

The *French Kings* Council were resolved, that the only way to weaken the *English*, was to disunite the bond of friendship hitherto kept firm, betwixt the Regent and the Duke of *Burgoyne*; to this end are many messengers sent unto him from the *French King*, whereby he first laboureth to clear himself of the murder of his Father; next he maketh large offers of preferments, and assurance of free pardon of all offences past, and his Royal promise of love and friendship during life. Hereof the Duke certifieth the Regent, but withal giveth him a touch of his unkind denial of *Orleanse* subjection unto him. The Regent giveth him many thanks for his kind notice, and exhorteth him to continue firm, as he had given promise, and he should have no just cause given him, to repent him of being in League with *England*. Nevertheless, he took order to prevent haddywift, and so to provide, that if the worst should follow the worst, he might be assured of the main, (which he reckoned *Normandy*) he the less regarded the by, though he willingly would neglect no part of the whole. He therefore appointed the Bishop of *Tirowen*, Chancellor of the Realm of *France* under King *Henry*, with a competent number of Men to guard *Paris*, whilst he departed into *Normandy*, and at *Roan* called a Parliament; in which he inculcated the great benefits that redound to that Nation, by the Friendship of the *English*, what large freedoms they had, how infinite rich they might grow, by holding good correspondency with that Nation, whereby their Wines and Linnen cloth, might fairly be exported to *England*; and Wool and Lead, and other staple commodities from thence freely be imported to them, setting out at large all the commodity by their Loyalty they might have, and the discommodity they should reap by the other; he concluded with the rightful claim to the Seigniory of *Normandy*, to his Nephew and King by lawful Inheritance, from *Rollo* the hardy, first Duke thereof; he now therefore requested, that they would confirm their constancy to the Crown of *England*; with manifestation of their true affection to him, and so they should be assured of protection and defence against all opposers.

Charles at-  
tempts *Paris*.

But disap-  
pointed re-  
treats.

In the mean time, King *Charles* that slept no advantage, that close working might bring to pass, having underhand founded the affection of the *Parisians*, and finding them wavering, presuming by the Regents absence, if he did but appear before the Walls to carry the City, he drew all his Forces thither, and used all possible means, by Escalado, Battery, burning the Gates, and what else (sudden invention guided by furious desire to carry it) could effect, but all to no purpose; for such was the vigilant care, and hardy resolution of the Commanders and Soldiers in defending the same, that the King, whom a little fighting for his part, would fill his stomach, founded the retreat, and with some loss, but more dishonour, leaving his slain and maimed Soldiers behind him, all save the *Pasill Impostor*, which being hurt in the Leg, and almost stifled with mire in the ditch, was by *Guisto Thierborne*, a servant to the Duke of *Alanson*, drawn up and conveyed after the King to *Berry*, who in the way received the submission of the Inhabitants of *Laigny*.

The

The Regent returning to *Paris*, so effectually with words and gesture, expressed his true acknowledgment of thankfulness, for their good Service generally, and every ones Faith in the particular; that the *Parisians* publickly professed Friends to King *Henry*, Friends to *Paris*, Enemies to *England*, Enemies to the *Parisians*.

An. 1429.  
R.8.

*Philip* Duke of *Burgoyne* cometh to *Paris*, where it is concluded in Council, that he shall remain for the safeguard of the City, whilst the Regent (infinitely desirous to affront King *Charles* in the Field) makes head against the Usurper, but no certain news could be brought where he was in person: the Regent in his march regained *St. Dennis*, with divers other Fortlets adjoining. The Bastard of *Clarence* laid Siege to the Castle of *Sorfe*, which after six months Siege was yielded unto him.

The Regent desires to cope with King *Charles*.

Sir *Thomas Kiryell*, with four hundred *Englishmen*, issued out of *Gourney* in *Normandy*, and wasted the Country, to the Suburbs of *Clerimont*, all along. The Earl of *Britain*, with his Forces, met them near *Beavoys*, who not liking to charge them with his Horse, observing some disadvantage in the place, or fearing their stakes, caused his Men to dismount, and to charge them on Foot; but their entertainment was such, that the *English* made shift with their own Horses to follow them flying, taking two hundred Prisoners, and slaying six hundred, and so Victoriously returned.

The Earl of Britain defeated.

The Duke of *Suffolk* having paid his Ransom, and set at liberty, besieged the place, whereof the Lord *Rambures* was chief, which after four and twenty assaults, he caused to be rendred simply unto him.

Sir *Stephen le Hire*, with Captain *Franquet*, with three hundred Men, marching towards *Champaine*, which was beleagred by the Duke of *Burgoyne*, the Earls of *Arundell* and *Suffolk*, were incountred by *Puissill Joan*, and four hundred with her, who fiercely charged them, but being by the close order of the *English*, debar'd from breaking in, she like a Masty cur, not daring come too near, stood baying until she had drawn out the Garisons of *Laigny*, and other Forts, which all fell upon the *English*, and made a great slaughter amongst them, and took the Captain prisoner, who being presented unto her (for she was revered as a Commander in Chief) because he would not humble himself unto her upon the Knee, like her self against Law of Arms, and rule of reason, she caused his Head to be cut off, and all his Soldiers taken Prisoners, cruelly to be slain. From thence she sped her to *Champaine*, into which with her company she entred, the same as yet not being besieged round. Upon *Ascension* day at Night, this *Amazonian Virago* sallied out upon the Lord *Bawdoe de Noyels* quarter, where she did but little hurt, and was repulsd, though her Plot was to have fired his Lodgings: two Nights after by the same place, (the Bridge towards *Montdrider*) with five hundred Men at Arms, she sallied out again, but being discovered by Sir *John* of *Lutzenborough*, her company was defeated, and she taken, and presented to the Duke of *Burgoyne*, who sent her to the Regent, who sent her to the Bishop of the Diocess; who after judicial proceeding against her as a Sorceress, and deceiver of the King and his Subjects, by her seeming shew of Sanctity, and her inhumane cruelty, against the King of *England* and his Subjects, was after her many delays of promise of discovery, of secret practices, and lastly, of her fained pregnancy, burned at *Roan*.

An. 1430.

The *Puissill Joan* taken.

Proceeded against.

Burned.

The Siege still continued before *Champaine*, whither the Regent sent the Earl of *Huntington*, and Sir *John Robsert*, who brought fresh supplies of all



An. 1430.  
R. 9.

King Henry in  
person goeth  
into France.

all things. But *Philip* the Duke of *Brabant* being dead, and the Duke of *Burgoyne* going thither to take possession of the Dutchy, as undoubted Heir, Sir *John* of *Luxborough* was left in his stead to prosecute the Siege, who contrary to the wills of the *English*, and against the opinion of the major part of the Council, raised the same and departed, whereby he left the besieged means how to have their Famine relieved, but the Pestilence raged very hot in the Town. The game at Chess amongst the Soldiers plaid, gave check sometime to the *French*, and sometime to the *English*, the one in one place prevailing, the other, doing in another place the like; and so it continued wavering in doubtful ballance a long time.

The young King of *England* was by his Council advised, (for it was by them resolved, that his presence would be a good motive, to retain his Friends in their former Fidelity, and reduce the backsliders to their sworn Allegiance) to go with Armed Power in person into *France*. To this end, upon *St. Georges* Eve he took Shipping at *Dover*, and Landed on Sunday being *St. Georges* day at *Callice*, with a well-appointed Army, and from thence by easie marches went to *Roan*, and from thence to *Paris*, where he was by his Uncle the Bishop of *Winchester*, and Cardinal of *Eusebius*, with all well-beseeming Ceremonies and Observances, Crowned King of *France*, receiving the Oaths of Homage and Fealty of all the Nobility of *France* present, and all the Citizens and Inhabitants of that City, and of the places adjacent.

It was very observable amongst Strangers, and not without some admiration, that so small an Island as *England*, under the Governance of so tender an Infant, should so long, and upon so good terms, contend with so Large, Potent, and Populous a Kingdom as *France*. But such at that time was the Virtue, and martial Valour of the *English* Nation, that they knew no mean, betwixt Death and Victory; always preferring an honorable Death, before a lingring servitude. This moved *Eugenius* the Pope, and all the Christian Princes, so often to make Overtures of reconciliation, betwixt these two Kingdoms, but could effect nothing, but an imperfect truce for six years; which agreed upon, King *Henry* returns for *England*, and landeth at *Dover* the 11. of *February*.

King Henry re-  
turns for Eng-  
land after a  
Truce conclu-  
ded.

The Regent  
having buried  
the Sister of  
*Burgoyne*, mar-  
rieth a second  
Wife.

The six years Truce, was scarce openly Proclaimed, when an unexpected accident, gave occasion of breach thereof, and which was worse, of the amity betwixt the Regent and the Duke of *Burgoyne*; for his Sister the Lady *Anne* being dead without Issue, the Regent too suddenly married the young Lady *Jaqueline*, Daughter to *Peter* Earl of *St. Paul* at *Terwyn*, from whence, before the solemnities of the Feast were fully finished, he posted to *Callice*, to punish the insolency of some of the Garrison there, who pretending want of pay, had restrained the Merchants from venting their Wools; four of the faulty Soldiers he Executed, an hundred and ten he Banished the Town, and many more he punished by Imprisonment; from whence, with his new Bride, on *Midsummer* Eve he departed for *London*: where he staid until the end of *August* following. In which time, the Truce began to be forgotten; for the *French* awaiting all occasions of advantage, by secret Plots and Devices, had cunningly possessed themselves of divers Castles, and places of Strength, justifying their Actions, and affirming, that what was politickly obtained without blows, was no infringement of the Truce. And afterwards they perfidiously conveyd two hundred Men at Arms into the Castle of *Roan*, presuming to have surprized it, but being discovered, they were all taken, and either Executed as Traitors, or Ransomed.

An. 1432.  
R. 11.

The

The Regent knowing these coals would quickly kindle, speeds him to his charge, and preparation on both sides is made for War, wherein he found the Duke of *Burgoyne* less forward than he had used to be, whereby the Regent found his affection did slack, but would not seem to take notice thereof. The Lord *Talbot* having paid his Ransome, cometh to the Regent, and bringeth with him seven hundred tryed Soldiers. They take the field on both sides in Warlike manner, making shews of encounter, but twice together (being provoked by the Regent to fight) the *French* slunk away in the dark, as not daring to abide the hazard of a Battel.

The Peasants of *Normandy* pretending to shake off the *English* yoke (which never had been made insupportable,) rudely armed themselves, and in outrageous manner drew towards *Cane*, but having neither power to command, nor honesty to obey, they were by the Earl of *Arundel* and the Lord *Willoughby* encountered, and easily overthrown, with the slaughter of 1000 of them; the rest were all taken, whereof the chief Leaders were executed as traitors; and the baser sort, upon submission and acknowledgement of their errors, permitted to depart to their several homes: But the Earl and the Lord *Willoughby* being now in the field, and having intelligence that *le Hire* had besieged the Castle of *Gorbury*, drew thither with intent to have succoured it, but finding themselves too weak, they made account to have retired to *Beavoy*s, but being descried, they were pursued by *le Hire*, who having advantage, charged; the Earl perceiving no safety, but not to hope of help, resolved to win or die, fought valiantly, but the Earl is dangerously wounded by the shot of a Culvering, which caused the Lord *Willoughby* to retire and convey the wounded Earl to *Beavoy*s, where within three dayes he died, say the Historians; but the Heralds say, he died and was buried at *Lewis* in *Sussex*; he married *Maud*, the Daughter of Sir *Robert Lovell*, and had issue, *Humphry* that succeeded him, and *Avitia* married to *James Butler* Earl of *Ormon* and *Wiltshire*. After the death of *Arundel*, the Lord *Willoughby* dispersed his forces to their former garrisons, but stayed himself there.

The Duke of *Burbon* taken at the Battel of *Agincourt*, after eighteen years imprisonment, paying 18000. pounds for his ransome the same day he was enlarged, died at *London*; *Charles* his Son, who had married the Sister of the Duke of *Burgoyne*, succeeded his Father. Betwixt the two Brother-in-laws, an unnatural jarre was raysed, but by the mediation of *Mary* Dutcheffs of *Berry*, they are reconciled; by whose labour and industry, with the help of the Duke of *Burbon*, a reconciliation is likewise wrought between the *French* King and *Burgoyne*,

The jealousy between the Regent and the Duke of *Burgoyne*, was now publickly discerned; whereby those that call'd to mind the great charge, that *Henry* the Fifth gave on his death-bed, carefully to retain that Dukes amity, laboured an enterview betwixt them, to remove all scruples on either part; which was obtained, and Saint *Omers* was the place agreed upon; where both Dukes being arrived, they both standing too punctually on points of Honour, who should give priority of visitation, the Duke of *Bedford*, as the Son, Brother, and Uncle of a King, and Regent of *France*, pretended it dishonorable for him to begin; and the other challenging the same, as of right belonging to him, to have the first place, the same being within his own Dominions. The wisest in some points are foolish, they both departed more discontented than before: the haughtiness of the spirit of the one, and the great stomach of the other, being unable to give way to their unruly passions.

N

And

An. 1432.  
R. II.

The Peasants  
in *Normandy*  
rebel.

The Duke of  
*Burbon* receiveth liberty of  
body out of  
prison and  
loss of life all  
in one day.

At St. *Omers*  
the Dukes of  
*Bedford* and  
*Burgoyne* meet,  
and depart  
without conference.



An. 1432.  
R. II.

And hereupon the Duke of *Burgoyne* made choice, rather to enter league with him that had murdered his Father, than to keep his Oath with the King of *England*, or the bond of love, so often plighted with the Regent his friend, and Brother-in-law. And upon the receipt of a blank Charter under the *French Kings* Seal, to insert what Conditions of peace he would, he proved renegado, and falsified his faith to *England*, lost his reputation to the world, and sold himself slave to perpetual ignominy.

The Town of *Saint Dennis*, by the perfidioufness of *Matthew Gongley*, was betrayed to the Bastard of *Orleanse*, but the Lord *Talbot* presently begirt the same with a Siege, to raise which the Bastard *Orleanse*, drew great forces together; but before their approach the Town was given up, and beaten to the ground. The inhabitants of *Pontoys* nevertheless rebel, and thrust out the *English* Garrison, whose examples did set the *Parisians* minds on work, to tread the same steps; but the Regents vigilancy over them, hindered their intentions.

1435.

The death of  
the Regent.

But now began the bright light of *Englands* glory to be eclipsed, and those Glorious Beams of Victory, which they formerly had obtained, every day more and more to decline. The triple twine being clean untwisted; for the thrice renowned, wise, and circumspect, *John*, Regent of *France*, Duke of *Bedford*, *Anjou*, and *Alanson*, Earl of *Mayne*, *Harecourt*, *Dreux*, *Richmond*, and *Carlisle*, and Vicount *Beaumont*; the *Atlas*, whose shoulders kept the Realm of *France*, from sliding from their alleagiance sworn to King *Henrys*, Father and Son; upon the fourteenth of *September* 1435. at *Paris* exchanged all his glory here, for the fruition of a more sempiternal felicity in another place: he was buried at *Roan* in our Ladies Church; whereat the Nobility of *Normandy* much repined, as seeming desirous to have had some place of their own territories, to have been honoured, by giving sepulture to so nobly deserving a Patriot unto them. Yet such was their levity, that within few years after, in the Reign of *Lewis* the Son of *Charles*, they instantly desired, to have the Monument erected over him, to be demolished, alleaging it was dishonourable, to have so arch an Enemy to *France*, interred in the Metropolitan City of that Province. But *Lewis* answered, God forbid I should give way to so dishonourable an act, as to molest the quiet of his dead bones, that living would (if offended) have molested all here; and it favours of too much baseness, to insult upon a dead Lion. He had two Wives, the first was *Anne*, Sister of the Duke of *Burgoyne*; the second *Jaqueline*, Daughter of *Peter* Earl of *St. Paul*; but had issue by neither.

Expulation betwixt the Uncle and Nephew, thwart the business in *France*.

No sooner was his death divulged, but infinite alterations followed, as well in *England* as *France*. *Edmond* Duke of *Somerset* (as one much affecting Sovereign command) underhand laboured to succeed in the Regency: but the Duke of *York* was appointed, (the Uncle being preferred before the Cousin to the King;) which made the young Duke to endeavour what he could to cross the new Regent, in all the designs abroad, and to under-value at home whatsoever was never so well achieved elsewhere, still plotting against him. For ambition is a passion, that will never suffer a man to sleep, without dreaming of revenge, or to wake without inventing stratagems to compass desired ends.

*Paris* making fail whilst the gale blowes, turneth Traytour, and not only rebelleth, but inhumanly abuseth the *English* within their power, and after it had remained seventeen years in possession of the *English*, yields to the Constable,

Constable, who by composition gave the *English* leave to depart: other Towns tread in the same steps, whose course the *Normans* would have followed, but that the Lord *Talbot*, with some other his associates, did with great discretion, and warlike behaviour, slaughter some 5000 of the rebellious crew, and thereby kept the rest in awe. Private envy all this time hindred publick good; and the emulation betwixt the Dukes of *Tork* and *Somerſet*, too long delayed the presence, and supplies of the new Regent, that in the interim the *French* grew City-merchants, buying and selling Cities, Towns, and Forts, to whom would give most: but the *English* were no good chapmen, and would not sell Honour to buy Treason. But now the Regent with 8000 new Soldiers arrived at *Harſlem*, and from thence marcheth to *Roan*, where he won the title, and not undeservedly, of equal holding the scale of Justice, keeping the ballance so even and upright, that the partial observations of those whom *Somerſet* had placed as spies over his actions, could not give intelligence of just cause to calumniate.

An. 1435.  
R. 12.

The revolted Duke of *Burgoine*, pretending title to the Town of *Callice*, as soon as the Spring approacheth, with an Army of forty thousand Men, most of them Artificers and Tradesmen, whom he easily engaged to the Wars, by his Authority, and shew of advantage to them, to have a Town so convenient for any Traffick to be at their disposal, passeth over the Water at *Graveline*, and there assaults the poor Bastile of *Oye*, manned but with fifty Men, twelve of them having sold their lives very dear, killing ten for one; being slain, the residue submitted, whom together with the Fortrefs, the Duke gave to the *Gantoys*, which place they beat down, and hanged nine and twenty of the Soldiers, and would have done the like to the rest, had not the Duke stayed their cruelty.

*Callice* besieged by the Duke of *Burgoine*.

The *Piccards* besieged the Castle of *St. Mark*, Sir *John Gedding* being Captain thereof, who having endured two hot Assaults and seeing no possibility to hold it, yielded upon composition to have their Lives and Limbs saved; which Castle was demolished likewise. From thence they begirt *Callice* with a Siege, and upon a first approach persuaded themselves to carry it by Assault, whereof they made three strong ones, but they found by their repulses, that they reckoned without their host, and were well pleased to keep after within their Trenches, not daring so much as to attempt to hinder the Shipping that every day with provision entred the Harbor. The Duke of *Burgoine* sent the Lord *Croye* to besiege the Castle of *Güesne*, where he got little honour, and did less harm; many attempts were made to stop the Chancel of the Haven, and to build a Bastile, to stop the passage of Boats, but they were prevented in the execution, and made fruitless. In the mean time, *Pembrock* the Herald, brought a defiance to the Duke of *Burgoine*, giving him to understand from the Duke of *Glocester*, the Protector, that he would (God sending him Wind and weather) either there or in any other place the Duke would appoint, in his own Dominions, give him battail, if he would but abide it; to whom the Duke of *Burgoine* answered, I shall be sure to stay for him here, until I have my will of this Town; wherewith the Herald departed: the Duke of *Burgoine* calleth a Councel, and whilst they are debating what is best to be done, the *Callicians* make a Sally of Horse and Foot, the Foot falling upon the Bastile (lately erected to hinder the passage of the River for Boats) whilst the Horse give the Alarm to the Camp, the Bastile is carried by force (with the slaughter of eightscore of the *Burgonians*, and many Prisoners, with all the Artillery, and Provision) to *Callice*, from whence issued then fresh



An. 1436.  
R. 13.

The Duke of  
Burgoyne re-  
treats from  
Callice.

Forces, to favour the retreat of the Horse, who with the loss of twenty Horse, and an hundred and twenty Men, returned; which strook such an amazement amongst the *Burgonian* Bores, that they were incapable of any understanding what to do; and thereupon a fair gale of wind blowing, the hearts of the bread and butter-fed Flemings were so amazed, that they presently rumored, the approach of the Duke of *York*; and after the rumor was once up, the same increased the number, and the certainty of the sight of eight hundred Sail was affirmed, so that those that seemed not to be daunted with the news, were suspected to be Traytors to the Duke of *Burgoyne*; the *Dutch* upbraid the *Piccards*, the *French* the *Gantoys*; nay, the most resolute of the Council, told the Duke of *Burgoyne*, that the stay might give opportunity to the Enemy to Beleaguer his Leaguer, and to set down betwixt him and *France*, and then they should be coopt up, and be charged both before and behind; which so did take the Duke of *Burgoyne*, that presently in a fury, raging like the *Persian* that threatned the Tempest, and whipt the Sea, he sent to the Lord of *Croy*, and both of them that Night quit their quarters, and in that haste departed, that they left a great part of their best Ordnance, and all their provision, for the relief and help of the Besieged. It seemed they had some reason to run, for the next day (being the 27. of *July*) the Duke of *Glocester* landed at *Callice* with five and twenty thousand good fighting Men, and finding the Enemy recoiled, forrageth all the Countries adjacent, and for the space of six weeks harrowed all the parts of *Flanders*, *Arthoys*, and *Hennault*, and so returning by *St. Omers*, *Arde*, and *Gujens*, comforting his Friends, and terrifying his Enemies, with great and rich booty, they arrived at *Callice*. But the want of Bread, whereof they could not be furnished all the way, did bring divers Diseases amongst the Army, whereof more died than were slain upon any *Camisado* by the Enemy; for encounter they had none all the way.

The Duke of *York* returneth into *England* to the rescue of *Rocksborough* Castle, Defended by Sir *Ralph Gray*, and Besieged by the King of *Scots* with thirty thousand Men; who having advertisement of the Earl of *Northumberland*s approach, and the Dukes safe return, fled with no less loss, than dishonor, and enough of both.

A truce is desired betwixt *England* and *Burgoyne*, and obtained; the meeting is appointed at *Gravelin*, where, for the King, came the Bishop of *Winchester*, John Duke of *Norfolk*, with *Humphry* Earl of *Stafford*, and others: For the Duke appeared his Dutcheffs, the Bishop of *Arras*, and the Lord of *Croys*, where truce for a very small time is concluded on, and for less kept.

An. 1437.  
The death of  
three great  
Ladies.

This year was memorable for the death of three great Princesses, *Katherine* Queen of *England*, and Sister to the King of *France*; the old Dowager of *Henry* the IV. King of *England*, Daughter of the King of *Navarre*, and Mother to the Princes of *Britain*; and the old Countess of *Armanack*, Daughter to the Duke of *Berry*, and Mother to the Duke of *Savoy*; which all died within eight and forty hours the one of the other. The fury of fighting growing cold, Traffick for Towns was again set on Foot, and *Harflew* sold; for the recovery whereof, the Duke of *Somerset*, with the Lord *Talbot*, and a brave company of Soldiers, beset it both by land and water; there being within to defend it, Sir *John Estontvile*, and his Brother, with six hundred Men and upward; the Earls of *Ewe*, with the Bastards of *Orleanse* and *Burbon*, with four thousand Men, came to the rescue, but so well were the *English* entrencht, that the *French* could neither succor their Friends,

nor

nor annoy their Enemies, and so as they came they returned. Whereupon the Town was surrendred upon composition.

About this time, the Dutchess of Bedford followed Queen Katherines example, making election for an Husband of a gallant young Gentleman, but of small means, yet fortunate only enough by being affected, one Sir Richard Woodville, whom she took to Husband, to the great discontent of her French Friends, but especially her Uncle, the Bishop of Terwine; but she cared not who was vext, so her self was pleased, and God not offended, who blest her, and made her Mother of many Children; and amongst the rest, of the Lady Elizabeth, afterwards married to King Edward the Fourth.

James King of Scots, (which before had been fifteen years Prisoner in England, and from thence released with a Wife, a great Dower, and many honorable Presents, yet proved ungrateful) was murdered by certain his traiterous Subjects in his Bed-chamber by Night, who being found out, were cruelly tortured.

The Duke of Burgoine, having attempted the unworthy Traffick, of bartering for Callice with mony, but not able to compass it, being infinitely desirous to be Master of it, when neither Force, nor Fraud could prevail, attempts it by a strange policy, but of like success to the former; for he was persuaded by a ridiculous practise, so to cut a ditch, that he might at his pleasure, drown both the Town and Country; about this he imployed much labour, and more cost, but this fantastical fancy of a Flood, vanished away (like his Flemish Army at the Siege thereof) like a vapour.

The Lord Talbot besieged Tanckervile, and hath it (after four months lying before it) simply rendred unto him: In lieu whereof, the French King in his own person, lays Siege to Monstrew fault Tonne. Whilst the Duke of York was providing for the rescue of this Town, he was discharged of his Office, by which means Sir Thomas Gerrard had the more colour to sell, not lose the Town, which the King of France making his own contract with him, bought of him for rewards and preferment, both promised, but how performed, I know not; only having sold his honour with his charge, he lived (disgraced and discarded in much discontent) an exile in France, where he died.

This year is a Parliament holden at Westminster, in which were made many good and profitable aswel Acts, for the preservation of peace at home, as for provision to maintain the Wars abroad.

Arthur, Constable of France, and John Duke of Alanson, besieged the Town of Anranches, whither the Lord Talbot came and offered them battel, which they refusing, he marched in despite of them (none daring to make resistance) into the Town: from whence next morning he sallied out, and having made a great slaughter amongst them, took divers Prisoners, and retreated at pleasure, the French being well contented so to be rid of him.

The French the next Morning were called from the Siege pretended for Panton de Santrelis, for the Hire had sent Letters unto them, that they had the promise of divers Bourgers of Roan, when their watch-night came, to let them in; they wisht therefore the Constable to meet them at Rize, a place within four leagues of Roan; hereof the Lord Talbot having notice, covertly marcht to Roan, and from thence, though wearied with a bad journey, marcheth before day to Rize, where he surprizeth the French, taketh the Lord Fontaines, Sir Allaine Geron, and many other; the Hire, by the help of his Horfe (though not unwounded by him that pursued him) escaped; and so

An. 1437.  
R. 13.

The King of  
Scots murthe-  
red.

A Parliament  
at Westminster.

Roan attempt-  
ed, but with  
loss to the  
French.



An. 1437.  
R. 16.

*Talbot* returneth to *Roan* with a fair booty, and full instructions to discover the Traytors, who convicted, had the reward of their Treason.

The 6. day of *November*, the Earl of *Warwick*, who seven times having been aboard, and still beat back by tempestuous and contrary Winds, landed at *Hoinstew*, with a thousand fresh Soldiers, came to *Roan*, whither the Duke of *Tork* was come down, and from thence returned for *England*.

The Duke of *Burgoine*, taking advantage, as he thought, of a still Water, with ten thousand Men, besiegeth the Town of *Crotoy*; to relieve whom, the new Regent sent the Lord *Talbot*, with five thousand Men, whereof the Duke having notice, upon their approach, retireth with his power (except four hundred, with whom he had manned a Bastile, by him there erected) to *Abvile*; but the Bastile is soon gained, and all the Soldiers either taken or slain.

The valiant *Talbot* sent the Duke word, that if he would save his Country of *Piccardy* from vastation, that he should come into the Field, where he attended him, and would give him, if he dared to come, Battail. But the Duke of *Burgoine* was not in the fighting humour, neither loved to be too near so cholerick an Enemy, that would strike, if he might come at him; and therefore from *Abvile* secretly conveys himself to *Amiens*. Twenty days together, did the Lord *Talbot* with Fire and Sword pass thorow *Picardy* and *Arthoys*, destroying all that stood in his way, and so returneth unencountred. Sir *Thomas Kiryel* seized upon the Dukes Carriages and Ordnance, and having left in *Crotoy* victual enough for six hundred Men, for a whole year, he brought the rest to the Earl of *Warwick*, who thankfully received them.

The Lord Talbot harroweth Piccardy.

An. 1438.

*Henry* Earl of *Mortaine*, Son to *Edmond* Duke of *Somerſet*, arrived with three hundred Archers, and three hundred Spears, and past thorow *Normandy* to *Mayne*, and took in his march by assault, the Castle of *St. Anian*, wherein were three hundred Scots and Frenchmen; the Scots he slew all, and hanged the Frenchmen, for that they had sworn Fealty to *England*, and broke it: He took likewise the Castle of *Algarche*, and by means of an Ambush taketh the Lord of *Camerois*, coming to the rescue thereof; on the other side, the Towns of *Neux* in *Bry* and *Snsan*, were sold and delivered to the French, by the treacherous Burgers.

Famine in England, Pestilence in Paris.

All manner of Grain in *England*, in respect of the scarcity thereof, was at exceeding high prices, and had not the care and industry of the then Mayor, *Stephen Brown*, been such that he had caused provision of Corn, especially Rye, to be bought, and brought from far Countries thither, the Famine would have raged as much in *London*, as the fearful Pestilence did in *Paris*, where those that died in the Streets lay unburied, until the ravenous Wolves made their maws the Sepulchre of their Flesh; but God in his mercy ceased the Plague in *Paris*, and replenished *London* with Grain in abundance, to the great relief of remoter parts of the Kingdom, which before that time were driven to make their sustenance of Fearn roots and Ivy berries.

An. 1439.

In *June* the Earl of *Huntington*, with two thousand Archers, and four thousand Spears, was sent into *Gascoyne*, whither the Earl of *Danoyes* was lately come, thoroughly instructed and provided, to buy the best pennyworths of Towns and Castles he could compass; but the Earl of *Huntington* upon his coming thither, changed all the Captains and Officers, and put others in their Rooms, whereby he warily prevented the Bastards chafers. This strumpet Bribery, and whore Covetousness, began to spread their

their Wings so far, that in *Normandy* the *English* Captains had small confidence in the Natives, and not too much in some of their own Nation: Whereupon Sir *Richard Woodvile*, Sir *William Chamberlain*, Sir *William Peto*, with a thousand Men were sent thither, to stop the current of *French* Crowns, from corrupting the yet faithful Soldiers with them. They according to their directions, narrowly sifted all, and where they found fault, or cause of suspicion, they punished or removed; and having settled all things in good order, returned.

An. 1449.  
R. 18.

A gap began this year to be opened, whereby the *English* might have entered to have made a reduction of those places the *French* had bought or Conquered; but the Wisdom of the Council of *France*, stopped it by reconciling the King and his Son the *Dolphin*, between whom by the sinister persuasions of base Sycophants on both sides, there were discourtesies taken before given, and discontent without any ground: the Son deeming his Fathers grave deportment, too too much austerity; and the Father the *Dolphins* youthful countenance, to a kind of contempt beyond filial duty; neither having just cause of jealousy, yet both suspicious of each others countenance: But the knot of seditious Faction, ty'd between the Dukes of *Burgoyne*, *Alanson*, and the *Dolphin* is dissolved, and the King and his Son in snow reconciled. Some small places were in this time regained; but *Paris*, for which provision was making for the reduction thereof, was left off, upon the notice of the reconciliation.

In a great bend of Frost, with a deep Snow, the *English* under the conduct of *John Lord Clifford*, having covered their Armor with white Shirts, and their Heads with white Alman skulls, come to *Ponthoys* by Night, and undiscovered past the Ditches, scaled the Walls, slew the Guards, and took the Town, with many good Prisoners, and a great spoil: presently upon the regaining of which Town the Earl of *Warwick* died in the Castle of *Roan*, and was from thence conveyed to *England*, and buried in his College at *Warwick*; he was the sixteenth Earl of *Warwick*, and Lord *Lisle* in the right of his Wife; he married two Wives, the first *Elizabeth* Daughter and Heir of *Thomas Lord Barkley*: and *Margery* his Wife, Daughter and Heir of *Warren Lord Lisley*, and *Tyes*, by whom he had Issue three Daughters.

Ponthoys taken  
by the English

*Margaret* the eldest married to *John Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who had Issue *John Talbot*, Vicount *Lisley*.

*Elianor* married with *Thomas Lord Rosse* of *Hamlock*, and after to *Edward Beaufort* Duke of *Somerset*.

*Elizabeth* married to *George Nevill* Lord *Latimer*.

Earl *Richard Beauchamps* second Wife, was *Isabell* Daughter of *Thomas Spencer*, Earl of *Glocester*, by whom he had Issue, *Henry* Duke of *Warwick*, and *Anne* married to *Richard Nevill* Earl of *Salisbury*; who in her right was after Earl of *Warwick*.

To reduce *Ponthoys*, the *French* King in person layeth Siege thereunto, and useth all possible means he can to inforce it, but the Defendants but flout him for his pains, and many times send his assaulting Soldiers halting home, with Fleas in their Ears.

*Richard* Duke of *York* being the second time made Regent, being arrived with the Earl of *Oxford*, and the Earl of *Ewe*, levies a power to raise the Siege; and arriving there, giveth notice to the King, that the next Morning he would bid him Battel: But the King not liking the breath of *Talbot*, leaves

Ponthoys suc-  
corred.



An. 1441.  
R. 20.

The French  
King braved  
by the Regent,  
but is patient.

Treaty for a  
Peace.

The Duke of  
Orleanse re-  
leased.

leaves his Ordnance, and best provision in the Bastile of *St. Martins*, and in the midst of the Night stole to *Poyssy*. The *English* possess his Tents, furnish the Town with the provision therein left, and thereof make Sir *Gervoys Clifton* Captain, with a thousand Soldiers for the defence thereof, and then marched to *Poyssy*, where he braved the *French King*, and thought with taunts and revilings to have put Valour in him; but he was too patient to be provoked to Fight; wherefore he left him there, and returned to *Roan*.

A motion of parley is moved, the place appointed, *Callice*, by the mediation and solicitation of the Dutcheß of *Burgoyne*, she being a *Portugal* by birth, very solicitous of the safety of her Husband, and the quiet of *France*, a Woman of no ordinary capacity, but of an extraordinary understanding: by her means the King of *France* sendeth the Archbishop of *Reims* and *Narbon*, and the Earl of *Dunoys*. For the King of *England*, the Cardinal of *York* and the Duke of *Exeter*, with whom came *Charles Duke of Orleanse*, who having been long kept Prisoner, was in good hope of enlargement, but the success of the meeting not answering the expectation, nothing was done for his enlargement, for in such Treaties, such as have the possession of Strong-holds, do commonly use policy and delayings, the stronger giving Laws to the weaker, so that the *English* would not bate an Ace of what they had gotten to keep; and would have for the ransom of the Duke their first asking, which was more than his means could any way compass: and the *French King* not very forward to give him any assistance, so that the disconsolate Duke patiently returns: but his misery so moved the Heart of the Dutcheß of *Burgoyne*, that she prevailed so far with her Husband, that he passeth his credit for the payment of three hundred thousand Crowns for his Ransom at *Callice*, at a day prefixt, at which time and place the Duke of *Orleanse* in Person, and the Duke of *Burgoynes* money meet, where the one being received, the other, after five and twenty years Imprisonment, is released; and by his Son that had slain his Father, and sought the ruine of his House: but now a firm League of Friendship is sworn and confirmed betwixt them, by the marriage of the Duke of *Burgoynes* Neece, *Mary of Cleurs*, to the Duke of *Orleanse*, which justifies the Proverb, *The best means to vanquish an Enemy, is to do him all the good you can.*

The Regent divided his Forces into three parts, he sent the Lord *Willoughby* into *Amyens*, the Lord *Talbot* to *Deep*, and himself, with the Duke of *Somerfet*, went into the Dutchy of *Anjou*. The Lord *Willoughby* made such speed, that he took many Prisoners, before they could get to any place of defence, but presently the Garisons draw together, and make opposition, but they are defeated, and six hundred Men of Arms slain; such as escaped fell into the Hands of the Earl of *St. Paul*, who was coming to the aid of the Lord *Willoughby*. The Regent returneth with a great prey to *Normandy*, whither *Willoughby* likewise cometh: But the Duke of *Somerfet* re-entrench the Marches of *Britain*, and took *la Gearch* by Assault: from thence he marches to *Ponsay*. The Marshal *Loach* intended to have surprized the Duke of *Somerfet* in his Tents, but the Duke to prevent that hazard, meets him half way, and chargeth so suddenly and soundly, that the Marshal is routed, and threescore and two of his Men are taken Prisoners; then he marched and took the Town of *Beaumont*, and having manned all fitting places upon the Frontiers, laden with rich spoil, he returneth.

The

The Lord *Willoughby* had entrenched himself round *Diepe*, and built a Bastile upon *Mount Pawlet*, which did much annoy the Besieged: But wanting Amunition and supplies of Men, he left his natural Son to prosecute the Siege, himself posting to *Roan*. The *Dolphin* with sixteen thousand Men cometh to raise the Siege, and three days together ply the Bastile with assaults, but could not carry it, until shot and powder failing, they were overpressed with multitude, and young *Talbot* is taken Prisoner, with Sir *John Peyto*, and Sir *John Repley*, all which were shortly redeemed by exchange; the rest of the Soldiers seeing the Bastile won, stood in Arms all day, but the Enemy not over-willing to do too much, and they as willing to give way, not being able to cope in the dark of Night, they retired to *Roan*.

The Earl of Saint *Paul* forsakes the *English*, and is reconciled to *France*.

The *English* besieged *Tartus*, for the raising whereof the *French* King marcheth down threescore thousand strong, and relieveth the Town, and from thence marcheth to *Saveryne*, which he taketh in, and therein Sir *John Rampston* Prisoner: Then took he in *Arques*, the Captain with all the Soldiers by composition withdraw to *Burdeux*: The *English* cut off all Convoies of Victuals from coming to the King, for want whereof the King is driven to return, after whose departure the *English* reduce all that the King of *France* had taken, and take his Lieutenant prisoner, slaying or hanging all his Soldiers.

The Lord *Talbot* this while taketh in *Conquet*, and driveth the Bastard of *Orleance* from the Siege of *Galiordon*: The *French* in the Castle of *Cornill* detained many *English* prisoners: Sir *Francis* the *Aragonist* apparelleth half a dozen lusty fellows like Peasants, carrying baskets with Corn and Victuals, and sends them to the Castle; he with his company lie in Ambush in a Valley near the Castle, the six unsuspected are admitted, and coming to the Captains chamber, seize upon him, and gave the Signal to the Ambush, who came readily on, entred the Castle, put the Soldiers to the Sword, and set the prisoners at liberty, burnt down the Castle, and with the Captain and the booty of the Castle, returned to *Roan*.

Whilst thus the ball of War was by the *English* honorably tost from one end to the other, in the Tennis Court of *France*; the Devil and his Ministers sow the seeds of unnatural Sedition between the two Brothers of *England*, the one seeking by a legal course the Reformation, the other the ruine of a Brother. The Protector Articles against the Cardinal, for too ambitiously affecting preheminance, to the derogation of the King's Prerogative, and contempt of his Laws; these Articles are delivered to the King, and by the King, to be maturely examined by them, to his Council, who being most of the Clergy, and not daring to give occasion of offence to the Cardinal, leave them unmeddled withal: whilst the Lady *Elianor Cobham* the Dukes Wife, by the Cardinals plot is accused of Treason, by sorcery and witchcraft to have intended the overthrow of the King, and advancement of her Husband to the Crown; for this howsoever she was acquitted of Treason, she is adjudged open Penance, and perpetual Imprisonment in the *Isle of Man*. *Thomas Southwell*, *John Hun* Priests, *Roger Bullingbrooke* a supposed Necromancer, and *Margery Jourden* stiled the Witch of *Eley*, are arraigned for devising of a picture of Wax to be made in proportion of the King, which by their Sorcery they should make to consume, and so accordingly should the Kings

An. 1441.  
R. 20.

The Earl of  
St. Paul for-  
taketh the  
*English*.

The Castle of  
*Cornill* sur-  
prised by a  
stratagem.

Unnatural dis-  
ension be-  
twixt Brothers



An. 1442.  
R. 21.

Kings Body : for this they are condemned, the Witch was burnt in *Smithfield*, *Bullingbrook* was hanged, constantly affirming upon his death, that there never was any such thing devised or thought of by them : neither at any time was more desired of from him by the Dutchess, or any other from her, but if he could by his Art find out how long the King should live : *John Hun* had his pardon, and *Southwell* died the Night before he should have been Executed.

The Duke of *Glocester* silently sees what Speech could not amend, and undergoes all these affronts with patience, attending equal distribution of Justice ; as it had pass on his forgetful Wife, so it might pass on his unnatural Brother, the Archbishop : But the Cardinal by his oral sanctity, and mental impurity, had so bewitched the King, and those of the Church of his Council, that the good Duke hoped in vain.

The Duke of *York* hath a Son born at *Roan* in *Normandy*, and Christened there by the Name of *Edward*. The Countess of *Camings* being dead, the King of *France* and the Earl of *Arminack* are Competitors for the Inheritance ; the Earl takes possession, but doubting, and not without cause, that the King of *France* would not be pleased to take a *Rowland* for an *Oliver*, makes offer to the King of *England*, of his Daughter in marriage, and besides a large Portion in money with her, to deliver over full possession of all such Towns and Castles, as were by him, or his Ancestors detained in *Aquitaine*, and had been formerly, by the Progenitors of the King of *England*, Conquered, or by the King of *France* to any of them given. And further, to furnish the King with money sufficient to recover all, or whatsoever was with-held from him there, by any person whatsoever. The Embassadors for this business were by the King of *England* graciously heard, and honorably returned ; after whom were sent, Sir *Edward Hall*, Sir *Robert Rose*, and others, to conclude all things, and by Proxy, the young Lady is affianced to King *Henry*.

King Henry  
betrothed to  
the Earl of  
*Arminacks*  
Daughter.

The King of *France* to prevent the growth of so rank a mischief, sendeth the *Dolphin* with a puissant Army, who took the Earl, with his youngest Son, and both his Daughters, and gained the Countries of *Arminack*, *Lo-vergue*, *Rovergue*, *Monlesseuys*, with the Cities of *Severac* and *Cadeack*, chasing the Bastard of *Arminack* out of the Country, by means whereof the marriage was then deferr'd, and afterward disannul'd.

An. 1443.  
R. 22.

The Christian Princes ( casting their contemplative looks upon the misery of *France*, for the present groaping under the three Arrows of Gods vengeance, *Fire*, *Sword*, *Famine* ; and the danger of *England* to be embroiled hereafter in the like ; whereof there were already discerned, too many symptoms, like themselves ) did by their several Embassadors, labour a Peace, between these two powerful Kings, and prevail so far, That at a Diet at *Tours* in *Touaine*, there appeared for the King of *England*, *William de-la-Poole*, Earl of *Suffolk* ; Doctor *Adam Molyes*, Keeper of the Privy Seal ; Sir *Robert Rose* and others : for the King of *France*, *Charles*, Duke of *Orleance* ; *Lewis*, Earl of *Vendosme* ; *Pierce de Bresse*, Steward of *Poyton*, and *Bartram Beavuar*, Lord President of *Presigury* : There came Embassadors likewise from the Emperor, the Kings of *Spain*, *Denmark* and *Hungary*, to be Mediators : The Assembly was great, and the expences greater every day than other, each one striving to exceed the other in entertainment for the Honor of their Masters ; many meetings were had, many motions made, but as one wave brings on another, one *quare* increased many doubts, no

full

full conclusion is made, only a Truce for eighteen moneths is agreed upon. In the mean time, the Earl of *Suffolk* stretching a point of his Commission, beyond his direction, without the knowledge of his fellow Commissioners, plotted a Marriage with the kinswoman of the *French King*, and the King of *England*; in which business the Earl of *Suffolk* was so intente, and made such large and unnecessary proffers, that he did not escape the aspersion of being bribed by the King of *France*.

To that business an interview betwixt the two Kings of *England* and *France* is agreed upon, without warrant of King *Henry's* part, to be between *Chartres* and *Roan*: The Commissioners return, where nothing is forgotten by *Suffolk*, that might illustrate the beauty and loveliness of the proposed Bride, or the great utility that might redound to both Kingdoms, by the consummation of this marriage: The King was easily induced to give credence to the relations; but divers of the Kings Council, especially the Duke of *Glocester*, opposed, and give reasons against the proceeding; first, that her descent was not royal, nor her dignities but barely titular, and all her Fathers Titles but disputable; alleging that Duke *Rayner*, Father of *Magaret* the much commended Lady, was but by himself stiled King of *Scissill*, *Naples*, and *Jernusalem*, without any penny profit or foot of possession of any those places.

Next, that his Poverty was such, that he could not subsist without continual relief from his friends, whereof his Son-in-law, must be ever a furtherer; then the Duke obtruded the dishonor, that would redound to the King if he should forsake the Duke of *Arminacks* Daughter, to whom he had in that ceremonious manner been publickly affianced; and the dangerous consequence of breach of faith, and neglect of the friendship of so potent a Neighbour; and lastly the unsufferable loss, by the surrendring and releasing his Title to the Dutchy of *Anions*, so unadvisedly proffered by the capitulation of the Duke of *Suffolk*; but all this while he but laboured against prejudice; for though it could not be denied, but that his reasons were undeniable, and better than could be given to the contrary; yet, they must not have place of belief, because *Suffolks* affirmation and negotiation, must not be under-valued.

*John Holland*, Earl of *Huntington*, is created Duke of *Exeter*; *Humphry* Earl of *Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*; *Henry* Earl of *Warwick*, Duke of *Warwick*; and the Earl of *Suffolk*, Marquess of *Suffolk*, The new Marquess honourably accompanied, fetcheth the Lady *Margaret* from *France*, and shortly afterward she is Married at *Southwick* in *Hampshire*, and Crowned Queen of *England* at *Westminster*, on the thirtieth day of *May*. How advantageous this Match was for the Crown of *England*, may be gathered, when she brought not a penny Portion, the charge of coming being defraid by the Marquess, who had towards the discharge thereof, the full Fifteen granted to the King in the late Parliament, and in exchange of her Person, the Dutchy of *Anion*, the City of *Mauns*, with the whole County *Mayne*; and so the best props of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, are surrendred into the hands of the *French*; but affection is blind, and what shall be shall be, youth rides in post to be married, but in the end, finds the Inn of repentance to be lodged in.

The Duke of *Arminack* in requital of the King of *Englands* kind usage of his Daughter, is a means to expel the *English* out of the whole Dutchy of *Aquitain*.

An. 1442.  
R. 22.

A Truce  
agreed upon.  
The Earl of  
*Suffolk* trans-  
fends his  
Commission.

King *Henry*  
marrieth  
Duke *Rayners*  
Daughter.

1444.

And



An. 1444.  
R. 23.

And it is to be feared that God was displeased with the match; for after the consummation thereof, there was a quotidian consumption of the Kings Friends, both in his own Land, and Forrain parts; intestine Wars are kindled at home, and rebellion is rise in all parts abroad; and which is most grievous of all (after the slaughter of many thousands of his Christian Subjects) the confusion of his Uncles and their Posterity almost, the Deposition of himself, the inhumane butchery of his Son, the Queen must be sent home again, in as much misery and contempt, as she was now received with pomp and acclamations.

The Regent  
comes for  
England.

An. 1446.  
R. 24.

During the time of the Truce, as well to be partakers of the jollity of the Court at this time, as to visit their familiars and friends, the Regent and chief Commanders resort to *England*, and there put the King and Council in mind to provide a cloak ready, though Sun shone bright, lest it should rain. Whereupon a Parliament is assembled, wherein is especial provision made for the furnishing of all the Frontier Towns, but principally the places of *Normandy*. To which end, levies of men and money are made, and all things usefully necessary are prepared: But a spark of fire is fallen amongst the flax, which though little, and unseen at first, grew to an unquenchable flame.

The Duke of *Tork* being at first chosen Regent for five years, and at the expiration thereof returning, was received *nec immerito*, with great love and commendation. After the death of the Earl of *Warwick*, who succeeded him in the Regency, he again as a man well-deserving the place, is sent over with the like Authority and instructions for other five years; but *Somerſet* which envied the Duke of *Torks* first advancement, and still was full of peccant humors against his continuance of that place, so undermined *Tork*, that by the means of the new Marquess, whose favour from the King and Queen now, was beyond mediocrity, and into whose more inward Familiarity *Somerſet* was now engratiated; he not only supplanted him from the place, but procured it for himself, to the no little heart-burning of the Duke of *Tork* and his friends; but he had wit in his anger, and rested silent.

The Town of *Mauns* according to the agreement, is not given up; The King of *France* prepares to besiege it, but upon the motion of the Marquess, order is given for the present surrender thereof; now no man in grace with the King but he; none can have any favour from the Queen but by him; the extent of his power over-reacheth all the Council; he gets of the King the Wardship of the body, and Lands of the Countess of *Warwick*, and of the Lady *Margaret*, sole Daughter and Heir of *John Duke of Somerſet*, afterward Mother to King *Henry* the seventh.

The Kings facile nature, and flexible condition, was the occasion that many enormities encreased, and many things made worse, that might have been better, if observed, and stopt in the beginning. The Duke of *Gloceſter* for his moderation and provident care in all things, stiled good, and for his plainness in delivery of his mind, honest, is an eye-sore to an ambitious minion, and an imperious Woman; she will no longer admit any curb to her vast desires of Empery; she is as well able to advise the King, as all his Council; to what purpose then needeth a Protector? The Duke of *Gloceſter* must therefore be removed and excluded, not only from command, but Council: and to add to affliction, she permitted, if not procured, divers sinisterly affected, to in-

*Gloceſters* de-  
struction  
plotted

form

An. 1446.

R. 24.

form against him; whereof the new Marquess and the Duke of *Buckingham* were not the most backward, and the Cardinal, Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Archbishop of *York*, would not be much behind. One objection was made against him, that he had caused divers persons to be executed, contrary to the judgement of the Court denounced, and against the Law of the Land in these cases provided: his too much zeal of execution of Justice (if zeal in that point may be justly termed a crime) made him subject to be censured to have perpetrated a criminal offence. But to avoid tumultuary partakings (for he was generally well esteemed, howsoever by purblind observers deemed worthy tax) it was concluded by those that maligned his sincere and just proceedings, that he should without any publick denunciation of his offence, be privately convicted and condemned; to which end a Parliament (by the procurement of his Enemies, unwitting to the King) is called at *Bury*; to which the Duke of *Glocester* resorting, is on the second day of the Session, by the Lord *Beaumont* then high Constable (abetted by the Duke of *Buckingham*) arrested, and put to ward, all his followers without exception sequestred from him; whereof thirty two are committed to several prisons: the next day after his commitment, he is found in his bed murdered, yet shewed the same day, being the four and twentieth day of *February*, publickly making show, as though he had died of an Impostume; but all indifferent persons that saw his Corps, could not but deem he died of an unnatural cause: his Corps were the same day conveyed to Saint *Albanes*, and there buried. Five of his menial servants, Sir *Roger Chamberlain* Knight, *Middleton*, *Herbert*, *Arztis*, Esquires, and *John Needham* Gentleman, were condemned to be drawn, hanged and quartered. But the Marquess of *Suffolk*, to make a show to the world of his having no finger in the business, brought their pardon, and delivered it at their proposed place of execution. Some critical observers have affirmed, the stile of *Glocester* as ominous; and make instance of *Hugh Spencer*, *Thomas of Woodstock*, and this Duke *Humphrey*; but it may be well collected, that this Dukes death gave a prodigious presage of the ensuing calamity of the Common-wealth.

Performed.

Sometimes in quenching of smok, men burn their fingers in the fire; so the Queen, casting to preserve her Husbands Honour, and her own Regality, in making away this honest Duke, affected that which discretion should have most laboured to prevent, which was, the decay of the house of *Lancaster*, which was unlikely to have chanced, if this Duke had lived. For his primogeniture would have kept back the Duke of *Yorks* claim to the Crown, this *Richards* Father being but the fifth Son of *Edward* the third. *Humphrey Plantagenet* was the fourth Son of *Edward* the third, Duke of *Glocester*, Earl of *Hennault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Pembrook*, Lord of *Frisia*, great Chamberlain of *England*: he married two Wives, *Jaquet*, from whom he was divorced; and *Eliannor* Daughter of *Reginald* Lord *Cobham*, by whom, before marriage, he had a Daughter called *Antigona*, married to *Henry Gray*, Lord of *Tankerville*, but no issue legitimate.

The new Marquess of *Suffolk*, by the great favour of the King, but more desire of the Queen, is created Duke of *Suffolk*, which brought him within the compass of Contempt of the Kings surviving Uncle, the Duke of *York*, who was beginning to suck the venome of his Kinswoman, the Lady *Cobhams* forcery, and awakened with his Brothers loss, her

1448.



An. 1448.  
R. 26.

The Cardinal of Winchester dies.

William Wansfleet consecrated Bishop of Winchester.

The Truce broken by the English.

disgrace, and his own disrepute; having by consanguinity, and affinity, a fair means to draw a party, observing that they only sate at the steern that were unable, yea, unworthy to use the Oath of the Common-wealth; and that all affaires of state were meerly managed by the Queen and her Favourite the Duke of *Suffolk*, the King being as a Cipher, but at their pleasure to make a number; did among his familiars privily whisper his Title and right to the Crown, and afar off, as in a Landskip, to make a show of desire to see the flourishing encrease of the white Rose; and so politickly carried his intent, that all things were provided to further his project, ere his purpose was published. During this plotting, *Henry Beauford*, the rich Cardinal, Bishop of *Winchester*, takes his leave of this World, and leaves more riches behind him, than either good deeds, or glorious name; he was more noble in blood than notable in learning; of high look, and haughty stomach, constant in nothing more than malice and mischief, and that chiefly employed against good Duke *Humphrey*: his desires were insatiable for money, still coveting more, but misemploying nothing in expence; for he only hoarded to make others rich, and himself poor; what his ends were, except he was perswaded never to die, no living man did know; and had he desired to have measured his greatness by his goodness, he had never been administrator to his own good name, for that died long before him, without which we leave him, to be seconded in the Bishoprick of *Winchester* by a more deserving Prelate, which was *William Wansfleet*, so stiled of the place he was born in, but his name was *Patten*, of the worshipful Family whereof he was descended.

The fifth of *August* following dieth *John Holland* Duke of *Exeter*, Earl of *Huntington*, and *Ivry* in *Normandy*, Lord of *Sparr*, Lieutenant-General of the Dutchy of *Aquitaine*, Admiral of *England*, and Constable of the Tower of *London*: he married two Wives; *Anne*, Daughter of *Edmond* Earl of *Stafford*, by whom he had issue, *Henry*, that succeeded in the Dukedom: his second Wife was *Anne* daughter to *John Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*; by her he had issue a daughter, *Anne*, married to the Heir of *Westmerland*, *John Nevill*, by whom she had no issue. Then she was married to *Thomas Nevill*, Brother of *Ralph* the Father of her first husband, by whom she had issue, *Ralph*, the third Earl of *Westmerland*. And her third husband was *James* Earl *Dowglas*, by whom she had no issue. Before the time of Truce was expired, the Devil cast a bone by means of an overforward Curr, that set all on snarling; For Sir *Francis Surryens* an *Aragonois*, thought worthy to be admitted into the Honourable Society of the Garter, taking advantage of the security the *French* Garrisons did sleep in, suddenly, upon our Lady day Eve in Lent at night, surpris'd a Frontier Town belonging to the Duke of *Brittain* called *Fougeirs*, ransacking it, killing the Inhabitants, and carried away all the spoil: the Duke advertiseth the *French* King, lying at *Reunes*, thereof, who by his Embassadors complains both to the King of *England*, and the Regent *Somerset*; the fault is all laid upon the *Aragonois*, who did it without warrant or wit, the King or Council neither advising, or approving what was done. Nevertheless, for restitution or satisfaction, a meeting is appointed at *Lanvoers*, where the Commissioners treat of the business; But whilst they talk of this, news is brought to the Regent, that the *French* by a stratagem of a Carter, that with a load of Hay, coming over the Draw-bridge, caus'd the

the Axeltree to break, and whilst the Porter was ready to help the Carter, the Porters brains were beaten out, and the Town of *Ardes* surpris'd, and the Lord *Fauconbridge* Captain thereof, taken prisoner; restitution is demanded by the *English*, they are answered with their own Language, what was done, was neither by the privity, or procurement of the *French* King or any of his Council; so they hold fast on both sides their ill-gotten bargains; and from thence forward the Truce on both sides is broken; all things grow worse and worse. The *French* King assembleth a mighty Army, and dividing it into three parts, imployeth every one in a several quarter, who according to direction, get possession of *Lowviers*, *Gerbury*, and *Vernuele*; all which by composition attended twenty dayes to be rescued, but none came. This War is begun before the term of Truce expired, the *English* gave the first occasion, and are payed with their own coin; whilst the new Regent, which like the Sons of *Zebede*, presumed of more abilities than he had, knows not where to begin, nor what to say or do, makes ready to reckon the Towns lost: but news is brought of a conspiracy against him in the same Town; he goes about to suppress that, whilst the Enemy is at another Town ready to carry it, without speedy succour; whereupon he gives Command to such Troops to march as he thinks fit: but they in stead of putting his Command in execution, expostulate the reason of such directions: then calls he to Council; but there is more time spent in chiding and finding fault, then in debating for the amending of what is out of square, whereby his proceedings, as it were, make a parenthesis to a discourse between the good government of the Duke of *York*, and the bad event of the murdered Duke of *Glocester*. Thus perplexed, the Regent in a desperate case, complains of want of Councillors, talks much to no purpose; does many things to as little proof, or profit: and so having tired himself to no end, retires himself to his Chamber, and there with more deliberation than discretion debates with himself what is best to be done.

The Cocks now begin to crow upon their dunghil, which but a while before were cowed by the *English*, if staying, or cravend by themselves if they tell a running; *Constance*, *Guisard*, *Gahard*, *Pontean sa meare*, *Saint Loe*, *Festampe*, *Newcastle*, *Tongue*, *Moleor*, *Argenton*, *Lisseux*, and some other pieces in *Normandy*, are reduced to the Crown of *France*; *Mauliffon* in *Guyen* upon notice of their defections, arm against their Garrison, and set open the Gates to the Earl of *Foys*, who enters and taketh it. This is seconded by the Citizens of *Roan*, who vexed the Regent, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* more within, than the *French* Army abroad, and enforced them to make composition, to have liberty with bag and baggage to march to *Cane*, and to procure by a certain day, divers adjacent strong pieces, to be surrendred unto the *French*; and until the same were delivered, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Butler*, the Heir to the Earl of *Ormond*, to remain pledges, who were sent to be safely kept in the Castle of *Eureux*.

Succours are sent for into *England*, but an unexpected occasion diverted the passage of them, for the necessity of present means, to suppress an insurrection made by rebels in *Ireland*; for effecting whereof, the Duke of *York* is with an Army sent thither, where he so behaved himself, that he not only suppressed the insurrection, but purchased the good will and affection of the *Irish* Nation firm to him and his for ever after.

An. 1449.  
R. 26.  
*Ardes* surpris'd.

The Duke of *York* sent into *Ireland*.



An. 1450.

R. 27.

The *Frenchmen* now thoroughly fleht, assault *Harflew*, but are by Sir *Robert Curfon* for a long time valiantly repelled, but in the end, fearing to be forced, he makes composition, to depart with body and goods: *Fongers* and Sir *James de Benron* are likewise received by the Duke of *Britain*.

The *English*  
overthrown.

A fresh supply of fifteen hundred men, under the conduct of Sir *Thomas Kiryell*, are sent over, who did as much as with so small an handful could be expected, taking in some Towns; but marching with the rest of the Army towards *Banguenx*, at a place called *Formigney*, he was encountred by the Earl of *Clerimont*, and seven thousand *French* and *Scots*; at first the *French* were driven to recoyl, and lost two pieces of their Ordnance; but the Constable of *France*, with four hundred men at arms, and eight hundred archers, came to the rescue; and being fresh, so beat upon the tyred *English*, that they with the loss of three thousand seven hundred threescore and thirteen, besides divers prisoners, gave proof, that it was not altogether unpossible, but that the *English* might be overcome, which hitherto in *France* for many years they never had been: Sir *Thomas Vere* and Captain *Gough* escaped to *Roven*.

An overbold,  
but true lan-  
guage.

The *French King* with an Army royal besiegeth *Cane*, which is bravely defended, till the *Dutchess* importuneth her husband to take pity of her, and his children, and to give over the Town; her entreaties and his childrens tears so far prevail, that he moves the surrender to Sir *David Hall*, who was there in right of his Master the Duke of *York* owner of *Cane*, who knowing that there was no great Correspondency betwixt the Duke of *Somerſet* and his Colonel, boldly told the Duke, that he had the charge of that City delivered to his care, that he would give a good account of the keeping of it, or leave his life as a testimony of his good will to have done it: the Duke of *Somerſet* urged his authority, which so incensed the old Captain, that he said that he could never better have expressed his insufficiency than ambitiously having affected so eminent a place, now durst not abide the hazard to stay in it: this so moved the Regent, that he complaineth hereof to the rest of the Captains, to whom he maketh shew of more danger than there was, and so far prevailed with them, that they for the most part agree to make composition for their departure with bag and baggage; which being granted, Sir *David* with some few of his retinue departed into *Ireland*, where to his Colonel he related all the passages betwixt him and the Duke, which set a root of rancour in the heart of the Duke of *York* against *Somerſet*, that the seeds were never after dead, till drowned in blood.

The *French* triumphed in *Normandy*, having clearly gotten it, after an hundred years possession, out of the *English* mens hands, and finally won all *France* to the obedience of *Charles* their King: the reasons of this total reduction of these Provinces are diversly delivered.

Some affirm that the *English* had grasped more with their hand, than they could well hold, joyning more Towns than they could man, and having more lands than they could manure, so that their store bred their poverty. Others say that the Captains kept not half the number in their Companies that they received pay for. Others affirm that *Somerſet* was blinded with *French*-crown dust, that he could not discern danger, till the Soldiers tasted destruction. But it is most agreeable to truth, that the triple-headed *Gerion* in *England*, presumption in government by some unmeet to rule, the inveterate malice, and insufferable pride of the last created Nobility, and the universal distaste of the Commons too much oppressed with exactions and

and burdens, was the original and final cause of the ill success our Armies had in *France*. Yet by the way, consider but the deportment of the *English* Nation, the concurrence of martial Men, their counsel, discipline, designs, from the beginning of *Edward* the First until this time; and you will acknowledge that they were Men of worth and prowess, and carried the Palm of Victory before them wheresoever they went. But *Suffolk* must bear a share, and a great one, of the blame for this business; for he is not only exclaimed against, as the cause of the surrender of *Anion* and *Mayne*; the chief procurer of the Duke of *Glosters* death; the occasion of the loss of *Normandy*: but they accuse him further, to have wilfully wasted the Kings Treasure, for being a means to remove sufficient Men from the Council board, and admitting of Favourites that were only to serve his turn; his ambition aiming at the advancement of his faction, though with the destruction of the King, and the subversion of the Commonwealth. The Queen taketh notice of these aspersions, and too well knowing how far they were guilty, that were thus toucht, doubting the Dukes destruction, and her own downfall, if this current were not stopt, so wrought, that the Parliament assembled at the Black-Friers, is adjourned to *Leicester*, and from thence to *Westminster*.

In the mean time, all means possibly are used to stop the mouths of those that were incensed against the Duke, but it prevailed not. For the Lower House exhibited their Bill of Grievance against the Duke of *Suffolk*, to this purpose;

1. That he traiterously had incited divers the King's Enemies, as namely, the Bastard of *Orleanse*, the Lord *Presigny*, and others, to levy War against the King, to the intent that thereby the King might be destroyed, and that *John*, the Duke of *Suffolks* Son, who had taken to Wife *Margaret*, Daughter and sole Heir of *John* Duke of *Somerset*, whose Title to the Crown the Duke of *Suffolk* had often declared, in case King *Henry* should die without Issue, might be King.

2. That by his sinister practices, *Charles* Duke of *Orleanse*, notwithstanding the many cautions upon great reasons, by King *Henry* the Fifth to the contrary given, obtained his Liberty.

3. That through his treachery by the abetment of the Duke of *Orleanse*, the *French* King hath gotten possession of all the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and taken Prisoners the Valiant Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lord *Fauconbridge*, and many other brave Commanders; but to all these he affirmed himself not guilty, neither in thought or deed.

Then were further allegations made against him, to this purpose:

1. That being with others sent Embassadors into *France*, he transcended his Commission, and without privy of his fellow Commissioners, presumed to promise the surrender of *Anion*, and the delivery of the County of *Maunts*, and the City of *Maunts* to Duke *Rayner*, which accordingly was performed, to the great dishonour of the King, and detriment of the Crown.

2. That he had traiterously acquainted the Council of the *French* King with all the affairs of State, and passages of secrecy; by whose traitorous information, the Enemy was thoroughly instructed in all the designs of the King and Council.

3. That he had received rewards from the *French* King, whereby all succors sent to the Kings Friends in *France*, were disappointed and frustrate.

4. That by his wicked practices, the good Duke of *Gloster* was deprived both of Protectorship and Life.

An. 1450.  
R. 27.

*Suffolk* traduced.

The Parliament adjourned from Black-Friers to Leicester, and then to Westminster.



An. 1450.  
R. 27.

*Suffolk* committed to the Tower.

A Parliament summoned.

5. That by his labouring, such only were made of the King's Priuy Council, that more respected the Dukes particular profits, than the good of the King or Realm.

6. And lastly, that he had underhand fraudulently enriched himself with the King's Treasure and Revenews, and had possessed himself, by abusing the Queens favour, of all Offices of charge and credit about the King.

All these he faintly denied, but could not acquit himself of them. But to blear the Eyes of the people, and to keep them hoodwinckt during the time of Parliament, the Duke is committed to the Tower; but the Parliament is no sooner dissolved, but he is set at liberty, which so much incensed the vulgar people; that they could not be restrained within the limits of obedience, but in many places, after they had vented their sworn spleens in garrulent exclaiming against the corruption of the times, and the wrongs the Commonwealth sustained by the misgovernment of the Queen and her Favorite, they fell to an Insurrection, and under the leading of a desperate Commander, stiling himself *Blewbeard*, they began to commit some outrages, but by the diligence of the Gentlemen of the Country, the Captain was apprehended, and the Rebellion ceased.

The Parliament is again assembled, and great care taken of the Election of moderate-minded Men, for Citizens and Burgeses, presuming thereby to stop any further proceedings against *Suffolk*; but his appearance gave such a general distaste in the House, that though he came in the company of the King and Queen, they would not forbear, but begin the Assembly with Petitioning the King for exemplary punishment to be inflicted upon such that had Plotted or consented to the dishonorable release and resignation of *Anion* and *Mayne*, whereof by name they did instance the Duke of *Suffolk*, *John*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, Sir *James Fynes*, Lord *Say*, and others. This Petition was seconded by the Lords of the upper House; whereupon, to give some satisfaction to the Houses, the Lord *Say*, Lord Treasurer, is sequestred from his place. The Dukes Officers are all discarded, and himself formally banished for five years, but with an intent, after the multitude (which are quickly forgetful of what is not ever in sight) had put out of mind the hatred conceived against him, to have revoked him: But God did otherwise dispose of him; for when he was Shipped in *Suffolk*, with intent to have waisted over into *France*, he was met by an *English* Man of War, taken and carried to *Dover* Sands, had there his Head chopt off on the side of the long boat, which together with the Body were left there on the Sands, as a pledge of some satisfaction for the death of *Humphrey*. This *William de la Poole* married *Alice*, Daughter and Heir of Sir *Thomas Chaucer*, who had Issue by her *John*, who succeeded him, and *William*.

Whilst these things are in agitation, the Duke of *York* (though in *Ireland*) began to spread his nets in *England*, to catch such, as either through disgraces were discontented, or otherwise envious at the unworthy preferment of ill-deserving persons; or such as were any way ill-affected with the present Government, ever suggesting by the way his Title to the Crown, as descended from *Philip*, Daughter and Heir of *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, elder Brother of *John* of *Gaunt*, great Grandfather of *Henry* the Sixth. Then it is privately whispered:

1. That the King was simply of a weak capacity.
2. The Queen incorrigibly ambitious.
3. The Priuy Council, if wise, yet not honest enough for their places.
4. That

4. That through their inabilities, all *France* was lost; and that God would not bless the usurped possession of King *Henry* the Sixth.

An. 1450.  
R. 27.

Amongst other that were caught with these reportative Engines, the Kentishmen swallowed down the hook, and are taken therewith; which being observed by an Instrument of the Duke of *Yorks*, called *Mortmer*, he taketh his time, and telleth the many, that if they will be ruled by him, he will put them into a course to work a general reformation both in Court and Country; and free them for ever from those great and insupportable burthens of taxations so often (upon every slight occasion) obtruded upon them.

*Mortimer* incites the many to insurrection.

The people are so taken with these promises of reformation, and freedom of Impositions, that they draw to a Head, and make *Mortmer*, otherwise *Jack Cade*, their Leader, who stiling himself Captain *Mend-all*, marcheth with no great number, but those well ordered, to *Black-heath*, where between *Eltham* and *Greenwich*, he lay by the space of a month, exercising his Men, and sending for whom he pleased, and for what he pleased, in that majestic manner, as if he were Lord Paramount of all *Kent*, nay, of *London* also. To him resort fresh companies of all sorts, and from all parts. Then he presents unto the Parliament, then Assembled at *Westminster*, the complaints of the Commons, and a justification of the cause of their Assembly, to be for the glory of God, the honour of the King, and the good of his faithful Subjects. And first, whereas it was generally voiced, that the County of *Kent* should be depopulated, and made a wild Forest, for the death of the Duke of *Suffolk*, they justify their innocency of the fact, and therefore crave the averſion of any such Sentence or Decree: Then they make Remonstrance.

1. That the Queen's Favourites share among them the renewals of the Crown, whereby the King is enforced (for the supportation of his present Estate) to Tax and burthen the Commons with many great and unusual payments, to their utter undoing, and the general impoverishment of the Kingdom.

The grievances of the Commons tendered to the Parliament.

2. That the Lords of the Blood Royal are sequestred from the Kings presence, and the places of Council are supplied by persons of poor condition, who to enrich themselves, make sale of Justice.

3. That the Commons have their Commodities daily taken from them, for the purveyance of the King's household, for which they are not payed, nor any assurance for payment thereof given, but Court-promises.

4. That upon the apprehension of any Man for Treason or felony, before conviction, the King's menial Servants beg the Goods and Lands of the Impeached; whereupon, indirect and unlawful proceedings are used, by Subornation of Witnesses, Embracery of Jurors, and great Men's Letters to the Judges, whereby Justice is perverted; and the Innocent, after Attainted, and if not Executed, yet perpetually Imprisoned, to their undoing, and the enriching of such Court-Barrators.

5. That the Commons can have no Legal proceedings in their Law Suits, so that the rightful Owners of Inheritance, dare not (if opposed by any Courtier or their Favourites) maintain their Titles, or attempt the recovery of their Interest, or maintenance of their Possession, how just soever.

6. That the treachery of making sale of the King's Possessions in *France*, have brought to beggery many thousand *English*, who now for want of employment, are ready to starve or steal, whilst these Town-jobbers are suffered to enjoy the benefit of their traiterous compositions, and are opulent and mighty.

7. That



An. 1450.

R. 27.

7. That the King's Collectors and other Accomptants are much troubled in passing their Accompts, by new extorted Fees, and by being enforced to procure a late invented Writ of *Quorum nomina*, for allowance of the Barons of the Cinque-ports, and there Suing out their *Quietus* at their own charge, without allowance from the King.

8. That the Sheriffs, and under-Sheriffs let to farm their Bailiwicks, whereby those that buy dear (being to make a saving bargain) are compelled to sell dear, whereby they so fleece and shark upon the poor Commons, that they are hardly able to subsist.

9. That such Bailiffs under colour of the green Wax out of the Exchequer, do levy greater sums than are by the Record justifiable, yet maintained.

10. That the Officers of *Dover* Castle did usually, upon feigned Actions, arrest through the Shire, forcing poor people to give their demands, rather than they would be at that expence to go to the Court, and there dance attendance at pleasure; by means whereof they are often driven to spend more than the thing demanded, to the great vexation of the Commons.

11. That they cannot have the freedom of Election of Knights of the Shire, Citizens and Burgeses for the Parliament, but by Letters from the Favourites of the Court, to their Friends and retainers; the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses are chosen, and commonly such, as to please the Courtiers, displease the Commons.

12. That the Collectors Offices are bought and sold at the pleasure of the Justices of the Peace, taking bribes of some that are of a soft disposition to be spared; and taking bribes on the other side of turbulent spirited Men, to have leave to execute the place.

13. That they are too much troubled with too often coming to attend the general Sessions, being enforced in many places to make five days journey to the place where they are kept; hereof they made complaint, and crave redress, and that speedily.

The Captain likewise for his own particular, after protestation made to live and die in the quarrel of the King, and in justification of his being Sovereign and undoubted Lord; and of affirmation of his desire, of the King's welfare, and prosperity of the Realm, maketh Petition, that the King would be himself, and not live of the Alms of his poor Commons, whilst his proud Courtiers riot out the Revenues of the Crown: To that end, he craveth that the King will resume into his own Hands all the demeann Lands, Rights and Profits of the Crown, now sold, or leas'd, or farm'd, or otherwise disposed of.

2. That his Majesty would be pleased to call back, and into favour to receive the truly noble Prince, the Duke of *York*, now exiled from his presence, and with him the right Honorable, the Dukes of *Exeter*, *Buckingham*, and *Norfolk*, and the ancient Noblemen of the Realm, by the undue practices of *Suffolk*, and his complices, commanded from his Presence; and that all their antagonists and ill-willers might be banished the Court, or bar'd their place in Council, and displaced of their Offices.

3. That condign punishment might be impartially inflicted upon all the Plotters and Contrivers of the Duke of *Glocesters* death, their Associates and Abettors; and of all such as were the causes of the death of the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Warwick*, with the irrecuperable loss of the King's possessions in *France*.

4. That

Captain  
mend-all his  
private Peti-  
tion.

4. That there might be a general amotion of corrupt Officers, an abolition of the Green wax, and other instruments of extortion, out of the Exchequer, a qualification of the rigour of proceedings in the Kings Bench, an inhibition of unequal purveyance of provision for the Kings household, a cessation of proceedings against the offenders of the statute of Laborers, and a present execution of the Promoters, *Slegge, Cromer, Ifell and East*, whom he pretended by wrongful information to have abused the King, and wronged his Subjects.

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These Bills of intimation and petition are sent from the lower House to the upper; from whence the examination of the circumstances are committed to the Lords of the Kings Privy Council; who, having thoroughly perused them, and maturely examined the particulars, explode them as frivolous, and conclude the promovers and authors thereof proud and presumptuous rebels. Whereupon the King is solicited by his Privy Council, to punish the unlawful attempt of these Rebellious pretenders, rather by force than entreaty. This advice is seconded by the Queen, whom she perceived now they principally aimed at, though not as yet in overt terms discovered. The King draws his Forces to *Greenwich*, from whence he appointed divers nameless Lords to assail the Rebels; but they were told by their followers, that they would not fight against their friends, as only laboured the reformation of abuses, and the punishment of such traytors about the King, as the Lord *Say*, the Kings Chamberlain was, whose name was rise in every mans mouth, as well on one side as other, to be reproached; whereupon the Lord Chamberlain is presently committed to the Tower, and (until other forces come) the King and Queen retire to *London*; from whence within two daies being now full 15000. strong, the King in Person marcheth towards Captain *Amend all*; who politickly withdraweth his force to *Senock* wood; upon notice whereof the King retireth to *London*. But the Queen thirsting after their ruine that plotted hers, sends the two *Staffords*, Sir *Humphry* and *William*, with many gallants, to follow the rebels; these, proud of employment, make more haste than good speed; for they found *Jack Cade* in good order, ready to receive them, who in the first encounter, slew Sir *Humphry*, and afterwards his Brother, and put all the rest to flight. The Kings Forces being at *Black-beath*, could not by threats of entreats be enforced or perswaded to go to the rescues. But hearing of the discomfiture of the *Staffords*, and the forward Courtiers, they began to whistle treason, wishing the Queen and her Favourites in *Staffords* room, or that the Duke of *York* were in *England* to aid his Cousin *Mortimer* (never owned to be of the house of *March* until now.) But all expressing their backwardness to make resistance, many of them steal to the *Kentishmen*, and others from *Suffex* and *Surrey* increase his number, whom he ordereth, restraineth from foraging or taking any thing by force, or without payment; yet how, or from whence he had provision of food for this numerous company, or money to provide it, had not some Londoners underhand given him assistance, might have been wondered. But he returneth again to *Black-beath*, and encampeth where the Kings Army lay the night before, who were now fallen down to *Greenwich*.

The two *Staffords* defeated and slain.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, are sent to expostulate with the Rebels and their Captain about their demand (a miserable time the while, when two such Peers must be employed in such a manner to so mean a person and a Rebel.) But now being together, *Jack Cade* with a sober composed countenance, and great moderation, expressed himself in very good terms, but without show of reluctance or cessation from



An. 1450.  
R. 27.

from arms, except the King in person would hear the grievances of the Subject, and pass his Princely word, for reformation of their wrongs; this settled (if not peremptory) resolution made known to the King, who was in doubt of his own forces, as being unsure of his own Soldiers faith, marcheth presently to *Killingworth Castle* in *Warwickshire*, where he fortieth, and victualleth, as suspecting to be besieged, having left nor power, nor Commander of note behind, but only the Lord *Scales*, who with some forces were left to guard the Tower. The *Kentish* Captain, taking advantage of the Kings departure, cometh to *Southwark*, where he orderly quartereth his men, earnestly exhorting his Soldiers, to be Examples of that in themselves, that they made pretence to find wanting in others; and to be regular, and modest, and to commit no outrage either in or about their lodging; he himself kept the watch, and kept all things fair and square. The next morning they marched to *London-bridge*, where they made shift with their Swords to cut the ropes of the Draw-bridge, no force being used for resistance; and so in good order they march by *London-stone*; upon which the Captain struck his Sword, saying, *Loe, Mortimer is now Lord of London*. The Major of *London*, Sir *Thomas Chalton*, standing upon the threshold of his door, with a bold countenance, as though he had power enough (if he would) to repress him, told the Captain, that if he should attempt any thing against the quiet of the City, that he should feel hands enough about their ears to stop them, before they went too far; whereunto *Jack Cade* not permitting him to proceed, with a settled brow, said; Let the World take notice of our honest intention by our actions; we pretend not publick reformation, nor intend private ends of enriching our selves by undoing others; let us have your favourable opinions, if you will not give us further assistance, and in the mean time to give you assurance, our Tongues and hearts are relatives; observe our demeanours; and so giving the word, his Soldiers faced about, and returned to their last quarter, not doing by the way the least thing that might be tearmed wrong to the Citizens. This orderly carriage of himself, with the care of the Commanders to keep the men in obedience to the statutes and provisions of their General, won them a good opinion amongst the most of the lower rank of Citizens; he therefore assuming to himself the Title and place of chief, sendeth out his Letters of safe conduct, to such whom he pleased to make use of, amongst whom he wrote this to *Thomas Cock* Draper of *London*.

The form of  
*Jack Cades*  
Warrant.

By this our Writing ensealed, we grant and will permit truly, that *Thomas Cock* of *London* Draper, shall come in surety and in safeguard to our presence, without any hurt to his person, and to avoyd from us again at his pleasure, with all other persons assigned at his denomination with him coming in: subscribed thus, *His Majesties Loyal Subject, John Mortimer,*  
Captain Amend all.

Upon *Cocks* admission he had private conference, with three other with him: and the Captain at his departure gave him these instructions in writing.

You shall charge all *Lombards*, and Merchant strangers, *Genoways*, *Venetians*, *Florentines* and others, this day to draw themselves together, and to ordain for us the Captain, twelve Harnes compleat of the best fashion; four and twenty Bridgandines, twelve Battel-axes, twelve Glaves, six Horses  
with

with faddle and bridle compleatly furnished, and a thousand marks in ready money : and if this our demand be not performed and done, we shall have the heads of as many as we can get of them.

An. 1450.  
R. 27.

Next morning, being the third of *July*, having received the *Lombards* contribution, he returned in Battel array to *London*, and from thence sent to the Lord *Scales* for the bringing of his prisoner, the Lord *Say*, to the *Guild-hall*, whither he had called the Maior with his Brethren, and before whom he caused the Lord *Say* to be arraigned ; who craving the benefit of the Law, to be tried by his Peers, was forthwith taken from his Keepers, and brought to the Standard in Cheap, and there had his head chopt off, which being pitched upon a Pike, was carried before him to *Mile-end*, whither he went to have conference with the Mutiners of *Essex*, which were encamped there ; by the way casuallly meeting with Sir *James Cromer*, the high Sheriff of *Kent*, who had lately married the Lord *Says* Daughter, he caused his head to be struck off, and carried with his Father-in-laws before him in derision. From thence he returned into *Southmark*, and orderly kept his watches, tying the Companies to their Martial duties.

In the morning they came again to *London*, where, after publick execution made of some of his followers that had done things contrary to his Proclamation, for he made the transgression of his Edicts criminal, without the least partiality or sparing any) upon some displeasure formerly taken against Alderman *Malpas*, he sent and seized upon all his Wares and Goods, and sent it to his quarter in *Southmark*, and fined Alderman *Horne* at five hundred Marks, and began in a more insolent manner, than hitherto he had used, to bear himself ; which cauled the graver Citizens to take advice amongst themselves, for some speedy course to be taken for the repressing of these insolencies, and the assurance of their lives and substance from the fury of such Rebels. They send therefore by night to the Lord *Scales*, who promisseth them his best assistance, and to that end sendeth to them *Matthew Gough*, an old Soldier, and an able Captain, with some forces and furnitures out of the Tower ; who presently are drawn down to *London-Bridge*, and at the foot thereof stand to debar the *Kentish* Rebels from passage that way ; whereupon the alarum is given, and *Cade* endeavoured to force his passage, so that a cruel fight began, which did continue many hours, sometimes winning, sometimes losing ground ; at length the Rebels prevailed so far, that they drove the Londoners from the Draw-bridge ; then they began to set fire on the houses, when the aged and impotent, between the merciless elements of fire and water (whilst the more able were slain by the Sword) most miserably perished ; Captain *Gough*, Alderman *Sutton*, and *Robert Hayland*, valiantly fighting, were slain.

Now had the Londoners lost the Bridge, and were driven to St. *Magnus* corner, but a fresh supply being come, they recovered the Bridg, and drove the *Kentish* beyond the stoop in *Southmark*, at which time both being weary, agreed of a Truce until the next day, neither party to go into the others quarters. After the retreat *Cade* found that he had lost many of his most able men, he was therefore driven for supply, to set at liberty all the Prisoners in *Southmark*, as well Felons as Debtors, to fill up his number ; but now his Soldiers entring into consideration of their danger, and the desperate services their Captain had brought them to ; and (though with the latest) advising privately amongst themselves of some course to retire and return to their Houses and Families, being weary of the life of a Soldier, they hung



An. 1452.

R. 29.

The Captain  
of the rebels  
slain.

hung down their heads, and waited but opportunity to give their Captain the bag; which being wisely apprehended by the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, collecting by their countenances their change of opinion, he, together with the Bishop of *Winchester*, came from the Tower by water to *Southwark*, where they shewed the Kings General pardon, under the great Seal of *England*; which being publickly published, the people were not more weary of rebelling, than glad of the pardon; and without bidding the Captain farwell, they that night withdrew themselves to their several habitations. *Jack Cade* having sent his pillage by water, with some few followers, bent his journey to *Quinborough Castle*; where, contrary to expectation, being debarred entrance, he disguised himself, and privily fled; but Proclamation being made, that he that should bring him alive or dead, should have for his reward a thousand Marks, he was afterward by one *Alexander Eden* Gentleman, attached; but making resistance in a Garden at *Hotthfield* in *Suffex*, he was slain: his body was brought to *London*, and there beheaded and quartered; the one placed on *London-Bridge*, the other sent into divers places in *Kent* to be set up.

The Bishop of  
*Salisbury* mur-  
dered.

Upon this news the King sends his Commissioners into *Kent*, to enquire of the abettors of the *Kentish* rebels, whither himself followeth in person; and notwithstanding five hundred were found guilty, eight only were executed. The slips of this rebellion did spring about this time in many places of this Kingdom, but chiefly in *Suffex*, *Surrey*, and *Wiltshire*, but were soon appeased without much hurt done; only the *Wiltshire* men, upon the nine and twentieth day of *June*, drew *William Askots*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, from the high altar, celebrating Mass in *Edington Church* in his Albe with his Stole about his neck, to the top of the hill, and there inhumanely murdered him; their rage having blinded their reason, banisht humanity, and drowned all pity. They stripped him naked, every one of his Tenants striving to have a piece of his bloody shirt: not, as others, to have the relicks of the Martyr, to celebrate his memory; but as glorying in their own villany, they having the day before robbed his carriage, and taken the sum of ten thousand Marks.

The *French King*, taking hold of these disorders in *England*, winneth out of their hands all whatsoever was in their possession in *France*; no succour (though often and earnestly by writing and Messengers required) being sent unto them; so that *England* at this time suffered a total eclipse of glory in *France*; they every day losing more or less, until they had nothing left in *France* to lose, but the Town of *Callice*, and the Castles of *Harnes* and *Guynes*; so that King *Henry* the fifts prophetick declaration, that what *Henry of Monmouth* got in *France*, *Henry of Windsor* should lose, was now verified.

A Parliament.

The Duke of *Somerset*, having so well discharged his place of Regency, that he had lost but few men, but consumed much Treasure, and kept never a Town, cometh into *England*; and at a Parliament, which began at *Westminster* the sixth of *November*, was put under arrest; upon notice whereof the Commons of *London* despoiled his house at *Black-Friers*, and ransacked the same, making havock of all things, until Proclamation was made, on pain of death, that no man should meddle with any the Dukes houses or stuff; and one for disobeying the Proclamation, was beheaded at the Standard in *Cheape*.

The Duke of *York*, under pretence of coming to this Parliament, came out

out of *Ireland*, and at *London* had private conference with *John Duke of Norfolk*, *Richard Earl of Salisbury*, the Earl of *Devon*, and others his assured Friends, where it was resolved to keep the chief purpose (the pretence to the Crown) secret, and only make shew of his endeavours to be bent, to remove those from the Council of the King, that had so dishonoured the Realm, and wasted the revenues of the Crown, in losing so many good Towns in *France*, and doing nothing worthy their place or credit they held about the King: whereof the Duke of *Somerset* must be the chief man to be instanced; and the rather, for that he was in great contempt of the Commons, and was the only he, that opposed the Duke of *York* in all things. The Duke having laid the foundation of this his so long intended enterprise, sent divers Letters unto the King, wherein he intimated, the many unworthy proceedings plotted against him by his Enemies, whereby they had well-nie, if not altogether, withdrawn His Majesties affection from him; and though he were, and was ready, to lay down his life at the Kings command, as a testimony of his ever to continue loyalty, yet by their secret and dishonourable practises, they had besmeared his honour with suspicion of his integrity; which was a grief unutterable, and an injury unsupportable. That his patience abused might turn to fury; nevertheless his only request was, to know his accuser, and either to have liberty to defie him, and make good his challenge by the Law of Arms, or be permitted to take that course for the reparation of his Honour, as was appertaining to his condition and birth,

To this the King maketh answer, that he would take his complaint of wrongs into consideration, and endeavour to give him fair satisfaction; but withal somewhat blames him, for the death of the Bishop of *Chester*, by his means suspected to be slaughtered, and of dangerous speeches uttered by his servants, tending to rebellion; concluding, that notwithstanding any thing said, or done to the contrary, he did take and esteem him as a faithful subject, and a loving kinsman.

The Duke of *York* not herewith satisfied, intending at once both to promulgate his protestation, and display his colours, departeth into *Wales*, and there levieth men, making his colour for the good of the Common-wealth, and the removing the bad Councillours (that sought the ruine of his Subjects) from the Kings Council.

News hereof being brought, the King, with the Duke of *Somerset* (now enlarged) with an Army marched towards *Wales*; whereof the Duke of *York* having notice by his Scouts which way the King came, by a contrary way marched towards *London*, but having from thence received advertisements, that he would be prohibited entrance, he past the River *Thames* at *Kingstone* bridge, and marched into *Kent*, expecting there to find many friends, at least partakers, and encamped upon *Burnt-heath*.

The King in his pursuit came to *Black-heath*, and there pitcht his Tents. From whence the King sent the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Ely*, the Lord *Rivers*, and *Richard Andrews*, the Keeper of the Privy Seal, to know the cause of this Commotion, and to make offer of reconciliation, if the Dukes demands were consonant to reason. The Duke made answer, that there was nothing intended, that might be prejudicial to the Kings person, his Crown or Dignity, nor to the hinderance of any good man, but to remove certain Blood-suckers, evil disposed persons, oppressors of the poor, and infamous impostors, from about the King; but especially *Edmond Duke*

An. 1452.

R. 29.

The Duke of  
*Yorks* Policy  
to cloak his  
intention.*York* raiseth  
forces in  
*Wales*.The King  
sends to the  
Duke of *York*.*Yorks* answer.



An. 1452.  
R. 29.

York dismisseth his Army.

of *Somerſet*; whom, if the King would be but pleaſed to commit to Ward, until by a legal tryal in Parliament he might receive judgement, of ſuch treaſonable crimes as ſhould then and there be proved againſt him; that then he would not only diſmiſs his Army, but come unto his preſence, as a true and Loyal Subject in duty was bound ſo to do, and to tender him all beſitting ſervice. Hereupon the Duke of *Somerſet* is committed to Priſon. The Duke of *York* diſmiſſeth his Army, and cometh in a perſon to the King, where finding the Duke of *Somerſet* in the Preſence, he chargeth him with treaſon. The Duke of *Somerſet* denieth the accusation, and recriminates the Duke of *York*, to have conſpired the death of the King, and the uſurpation of the Crown.

The King removeth to *London*, and the Duke of *York*, as a Priſoner, rode before the King, but the Duke of *Somerſet* at liberty; which miniſtered much occaſion of heart-burning amongſt the friends of *York*.

The King calleth a Council at *Westminster*, where the Dukes are earneſt in accusing each other; *Somerſet* inſtantly craved of the Council, that the Duke of *York* might by compulſion, or otherwiſe, be made to confeſs his Conſpiracy, and to doom him to condign puniſhment, and his Children taken as Enemies to their Country, as the only means to repreſs the ſo much to be feared civil diſſention. This he with great ſhew of vehemency urged, but not (how true ſoever) to the point of belief; for the moſt of the Council ſuggeſted his innocency; firſt, by his voluntary ſubmiſſion, when he had power ſufficient, either to have kept the field, or to have aſſured his retreat; then by his requeſt made, not for himſelf, but for the eaſe of the poor Commons; next his careful and honourable endeavours, both in *France* and *Ireland*, where, if he had had any ſuch traiterous intent, he had the pan by the ſtale, and might have kept it. But while the Council are debating this, at the very inſtant, the Earl of *Kendall*, and the Lord *Leſpar*, crave preſent admiſſion to the Boord, and audience, as Embaſſadors from *Burdenx*, for buſineſs of great import, and ſpeedy diſpatch: they being admitted, declare to the Kings Council, how readily and really the inhabitants of *Burdenx* are to ſubmit their obedience to the Crown of *England*, if they might but be aſſured to be defended by it; they therefore offer upon the appearance of an Army in *Gascoyne* (if come before the plot be diſcovered) to yield all up unto them. To ſecond this, cometh a conſtant urged report, that *Edward* Earl of *March*, Son and Heir to the Duke of *York*, with a great power of *March-men*, made a ſpeedy march towards *London*. Theſe news troubled the Queen, thoſe the Council; it is therefore reſolved on, that the Duke of *York* (leſt private diſſention ſhould hinder publick deſigns of ſuch conſequence, as the reduction of *Gascoyne*) ſhould in the preſence of the King and his Nobility, and all the Congregation, at the high Altar at *Pauls*, take his Oath of ſubmiſſion, and allegiance to the King of *England*; which he accordingly did, and ſo had liberty to depart to his Caſtle of *Wigmore*.

York takes the Oath of Allegiance.

Burdenx is reduced.

After his departure, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, with about three thouſand men, was ſent to *Gascoyne*, who arriving in the Iſle of *Madre*, paſſed forth with his power, and took *Fronsack*, and other pieces: But having received in the night inſtructions from *Burdenx*, he makes all ſpeed thither, and was entred therein, before the *French* had notice of his coming, ſo that many of them were ſlain by the Lord *Leſpar* in their beds: ſhortly after the reduction of *Burdenx*, there arrived at *Blay* the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s Son, Sir *John Talbot*,

Talbot, with the Bastard of *Somerſet*, with divers others, with two and twenty hundred Men furniſhed and victualled; by whoſe means *Burdenx* is well manned with *Engliſh*, and provided for at full, whiſt the Earl was not idle, but went from place to place, to receive the offered ſubmiſſion of all places whither he came; and having taken *Chattillon*, he ſtrongly and ſufficiently fortiſieth and furniſheth the ſame. The *French* King raiſeth an Army, and forthwith beſiegeth (by his Commanders) *Chattillon*; to the reſcue whereof the Earl maketh all poſſible ſpeed with eight hundred Horſe, appointing the Earl of *Kendall*, and the Lord *Leſpar*, to follow with the Foot. In his way he ſurpriſed a Tower the *French* had taken, and put all within it to the Sword; and meeting five hundred *French-men*, that had been forraging, he ſlew a great number of them, and chaſed the reſt to the Camp; upon whoſe approach, the *French* underſtanding which way the Enemy came, they left the Siege, and retired to a place which they had formerly trenched and fortified, whither the Earl followeth them, and reſolutely chargeth them ſo home, that he got the entry of the Camp, where being ſhot thorow the Thigh with a Harquebuſſ, and his Horſe ſlain under him, his Son deſirous to relieve his Father, loſt his own Life, and therein was accompanied with his Baſtard Brother, *Henry Talbot*, and Sir *Edward Hall*, and thirty other Gentlemen of name; the Lord *Molynes*, with threeſcore others, were taken priſoners, the reſt fled to *Burdenx*, but in the way a thouſand of them were ſlain.

An. 1452.  
R. 29.

*Shrewsbury*  
with his fourth  
Son and his  
natural Brother  
ſlain at  
*Chattillon*.

Thus on the laſt day of *July* at *Chattillon*, the thrice honorable Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the firſt of that name, gave the laſt teſtimony of his true ſervice to his King, after he had imployed the ſame to his never-dying Honour in the parts beyond the Seas, by the ſpace of four and twenty years; he had married two wives, the firſt was *Matild*, Daughter and ſole Heir of *Thomas Nevill*, Lord *Furnivall*; by whom he had Iſſue, *John* that ſucceeded him in the Earldom, Sir *Chriſtopher Talbot*, and Sir *Humphry Talbot*, Knights.

An. 1453.

His ſecond Wife was *Margaret*, elder Daughter and Co-heir of *Richard Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, by whom he had Iſſue, *John Talbot*, in right of his Wife Viſcount *Liſle*, ſlain with his Father.

Sir *Humphry Talbot*, ſlain at Mount *Sinai*.

*Elizabeth*, married to *John Mowbray* Earl of *Norfolk*.

And *Elleanor*, Wiſe to *Thomas Boteleer*, Lord of *Sudley Caſtle*. And a natural Son, ſlain, as afore, with his Father; his Body was buried in a Tomb at *Roan* in *Normandy*, with this inſcription; Here lieth the right Noble Knight *John Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Weſſford*, *Waterford*, and *Valence*, Lord *Talbot* of *Goodritch* and *Orchenfield*, Lord *Strange* of *Blackmere*, Lord *Verdon* of *Aſton*, Lord *Cromwell* of *Wingfield*, Lord *Lovetoſt* of *Worſop*, Lord *Furnivall* of *Sheffield*, Lord *Fauconbridge*, Knight of the moſt noble Orders of *St. George*, *St. Michael*, and the Golden Fleece, great Maſhal to King *Henry* the Sixth of his Realm of *France*, who was ſlain at *Chattillon*, 1453.

The Earl of *Kendall*, the Lords *Mountferrat*, *Rosayne*, and *Dangladas*, entered into the Caſtle of *Chattillon*, which they made good againſt the *French*, by the ſpace of ten days, and then upon hope of ſuccor, delivered it upon compoſition, to have liberty to depart to *Burdenx*. Now the tyde turned again, the *Gascoynes* levity, being as ready to open the Gates to the *French*, as they were but little before to the *Engliſh*, by means whereof, in ſhort time the *French* recovered again all *Gascoyne*, except *Burdenx*, which the *French* King in Perſon layeth Siege unto, and at length hath it ſurrendered upon



An. 1453.  
R. 30.

The Queen  
delivered of a  
Son.

upon condition that both Garrisons and Inhabitants with all their substance, might safely depart from *England* or *Callice*, and that the Lords *Lespar* and *Durant*, with thirty others, whose names were expressed, upon pain of death, should never after be found in the Territories of *France*: the neglect of which Oath, within few years after, caused *Lespar* to leave his Head behind him there, whilst the rest in safety came to *England*. This loss of *Aquitane* was palliated by the happy delivery of the Queen of a Son, who was Christened *Edward*.

The King and the Dukes beginning to bandy one against the other, gave a beginning to that faction, whose end was not procured without the deplorable loss of so many thousand *Englishmen*; and now, as a *Preludium* to that tragedy, upon St. *Bartholmews* day, an ancient custom being, that the Mayor of *London*, and the Sheriffs should be present, in giving prizes to the best Wrestlers, at the wrestling place near *More-fields*. The Prior of St. *Johns* being there to see the sport, a Servant of his not brooking the disgrace, to be foiled before his Master, against the custom of the place, would have wrestled again, and with foul language provoked the Victor; but one bad word begat another, and from foul words, they fell to fouler blows. The Mayor observing the mover, to be the Priors servant, not only commanded the Kings peace in general to be observed; but perceiving by the Priors countenance, that he did abet his Servants insolency, he commanded *Richard Ally*, one of the Sheriffs, to lay hold upon the Priors servant, who did so, and delivered him to one of his Officers; from whom by the Priors Servants, and others their partakers, the Prisoner was in danger to be rescued, so as the Sheriff craved assistance of the Mayor, who with his Brethren, and Officers, and Servants, valiantly assisted the Sheriff in the execution of his Office; whilst the Prior hasted to St. *Johns*, from whence, and *Clerkenwell*, he under the guide of one *Callice*, a desperate swaggerer, sent a number of Bow-men to resist the Mayor; upon whose approach, great bloodshed, and some slaughter was committed; the Mayors cap was shot thorow with an Arrow, he nevertheless courageously did his devoire, in encouraging the Citizens, and apprehending some of the mutiners, whom he sent to *Newgate*, and put the rest to flight; which being done, he cometh to his Pavilion, and would have had the Sports go on, but the Wrestlers were out of breath, or hurt, so that none came; nevertheless, Sir *John Norman* the Mayor told his Brethren, that he would stay a while to make trial of the Citizens respect towards him; for if they came to his rescue, though it needed not, yet they would express their love, or their neglect, if otherwise: He had no sooner said so, when the Citizens, with Banners displayed, came in great numbers to him, and fetcht him home in great Triumph. This was that Mayor which first began to go by water to *Westminster*, to take his Oath in that manner as is at this day used, whereas before that time they used to go by Land. This Mayor again was troubled by the Sanctuary Men of St. *Martins*, which not without some bloodshed, and a great deal of industry on his part, was with the publick punishment of some of the Ringleaders appeased.

But upon the neck of that began the quarrel in *Holborn*, betwixt the Gentlemen of the Inns of Chancery and some Citizens; in appeasing of which, the Queens Attorny and three more were slain. But these were but Peccadelloes to the deformities made in civil societies, by civil dissensions the year following. For now began the spark that fell into the bundel of Flax at *Somersets* going Regent into *France*, to flame out.

For

*Norman* the  
first Lord  
Mayor that  
went by water  
to *Westminster*  
to take his  
Oath.

The Queens  
Attorny with  
others slain in  
a fray.

An. 1453.  
R. 30.

For first, *York* by all means laboureth to stir up the hatred of the Commons against *Somerſet*, inculcating in their ears, (who are apt enough upon loſſes in Wars, to accuſe the Leaders of ſome crime of neglect or other) what diſhonour *England* ſuſtained by *Somerſet*'s diſhonorable giving over, by compoſition, the ſtrong Towns of *Normandy*; to theſe he addeth favour with the King and Queen, which he imployeth, ſaith he, to his own gain, and the Commons grief; and ſo having anticipated with his ſpeeches their apprehenſions, he addreſſeth himſelf to thoſe of the Nobility, that could not well brook the too much commanding power of *Somerſet*, over the King and Queens affections; for what he told the Queen was believed. and what ſhe told the King muſt be true; amongſt others, the Duke of *York* ſaith upon the two *Nevills*, both *Richards*, the Father and the Son; the one Earl of *Salisbury*, the other Earl of *Warwick*. The Earl of *Salisbury* was ſecond Son of *Ralph Nevill* Earl of *Westmerland*, whoſe Daughter the Duke of *York* had married. And this *Richard* was married to *Alice* Daughter and only Heir of *Thomas Montecute* Earl of *Salisbury*, ſlain in *France*; with theſe he deals ſo effectually, that an undiſſoluble knot of friendſhip is knit betwixt them, by whoſe aſſiſtance the King lying dangerously ſick at *Claringdon*, the Duke of *Somerſet* is arreſted in the Queens great Chamber of Treason, and ſent to keep his *Chriſtmaſs* in the Tower, and a Seſſion of Parliament at *Westmiſter* now convoked, *Somerſet* is appeached of Treason, and many hainous crimes objected; but the King (though weak) is brought to *London*, to diſſolve the Parliament.

After which the Duke of *Somerſet* is again ſet at liberty, which more incenſeth the Duke of *Yorks* choler, and inciteth others more to be cholerick, and the rather, for that *Somerſet* in ſtead of receiving of puniſhment, for the loſs of *Normandy*, is entrusted with the ſole remainder of our intereſt in *France*, and preferred to be Captain thereof, to loſe that too, (ſay his Enemies) and undo the whole Common-wealth.

They aſſemble a great Power, and therewith march towards *London*. The King being aſſured, it was no good policy to ſuffer the Duke to approach *London*, wherein he had (by his long practiſes) got no ſmall party, reſolves to ſtop him on the way, and accompanied with the Duke of *Somerſet*, and attended by the Duke of *Buckingham* and his Son, both named *Humphry*: *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, *James* Earl of *Wilts*, *Jasper* Earl of *Pembrook*, and two thouſand fighting Men, march forward, both Armies meet at *St. Albanes*. The Duke and the Lords encamp without the Town in a place called *Keyfield*. The King pitched his Standard in a place called *Goffelow*; the Lord *Clifford* kept the end of the Town, which he baracadoed. The Duke in the morning ſent a Letter unto the King, ſtuſt with many proteſtations of fidelity and ſincerity, offering to give teſtimony thereof in any thing, ſo pleaſe his Majeſty, to give due puniſhment to thoſe that have abuſed his favour, and diſhonored the Realm, and that ſo bewitched him (eſpecially the Duke of *Somerſet*) that nothing his Loyal Subjects can either ſay or do, can make him give credence to their true relations againſt *Somerſet*; the delivery of him into their Hands, to ſtand or fall by the Judgment of his Peers, is all they deſire, and that they will have, or die in the purſuit.

The King for answer commands them to diſband, and ſubmit to his mercy, and not expect any in his Army to be delivered to their Wills; for he will rather loſe his life, than any ſhould be wronged for their loves that were with him. Herewith the Duke acquaints his Friends, who afore reſol-

The Duke of  
*York* writeth  
to the King.



The Life and Reign of Henry the Sixth.

An. 1454.  
R. 33.  
First Battel at  
St. Albones.  
The Duke of  
Somerſet ſlain.

ved, and now prepared, fell every one to his quarter: the Earl of *Warwick*, with his March-Men, fell upon the Lord *Clifford's* quarter, driving down all afore them; for that wanting room to uſe their weapons, the King's party was much diſadvantaged; the Duke of *Somerſet* haſting to the relieues was ſlain, and with him the Earl of *Northumberland*, *Humphry* Earl of *Stafford*, the Lord *Clifford*, and about five thouſand. The King's Army being increaſed after his coming forth, to eight thouſand, but now they are all diſperſed and ſlain; and the King unguaſſed, left in a poor thatched Houſe, whither to be freed from the Arrows flying, he had withdrawn himſelf. The Duke of *Tork* having notice where the King was, comes with *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, who all three preſent themſelves upon their Knees before him, making humble Petition unto him for pardon for what was paſt; for now ſince that the common Enemy was ſlain, they had what they aimed at; to whom the King, throughly affrighted, ſaid, *Let there be no more killing then, and I will do what you will have me.* The Duke therefore in the King's Name, commands a ſurceale from further hoſtility, and ſo comforting the King, in what he could, with good words, he went to take order for the quartering his Men. This firſt Battel of *St. Albones*, was fought upon the 23. day of *May*, in the three and thirtieth year of King *Henry's* Reign. The Bodies of the Noble Men, the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*, were buried in the Chappel there. Had it not been *Somerſet's* unhappineſs to ſtand in the Eye of *Tork*, or to live in that age, when all actions were accounted of, according to the event; this *Somerſet* might have been ranked amongſt the beſt Commanders of thoſe times; but his ambition at firſt croſt *Tork* in all his deſigns, ſo *Tork's* malice at laſt did him a courteſie, to take him hence before the calamities of this Kingdom were ſworn to their full extent.

An. 1455.

He married *Elianor*, one of the Daughters, and Heir of *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, and had Iſſue by her, four Sons and five Daughters.

*Henry* who ſucceeded him in the Dukedom.

*Edmond* who ſucceeded his Brother therein; *John*, and *Thomas*.

*Elianor* his eldeſt Daughter was firſt married to *James* Earl of *Wiltſhire*; and after to Sir *Robert Spencer*.

*Joan* was married to the Lord *Hoth* of *Ireland*; and after to Sir *Richard Fry* Knight.

*Anne* was married to Sir *William Paſton* Knight.

*Margaret* was firſt married to *Humphry* Earl of *Stafford*, and after to Sir *Richard Dorrell* Knight.

And *Elizabeth* was married to Sir *Henry Lewis*; all which to the laſt breath continued firm and faithful to the *LANCASTRIAN* Family.

*Henry* Lord *Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland* now ſlain, married *Elianor*, Daughter of *Ralph Nevill*, firſt Earl of *Westmerland*: and had Iſſue, *Henry*, that did ſucceed him in the Earldom, *Thomas* Lord *Egrimond*, *William* Biſhop of *Carlile*.

*Anne* married to *Thomas* Lord *Hungerford*.

*Katherine* was Wife to *Edmond Gray*, Earl of *Kent*; and

*Elizabeth* married to *Thomas* Lord *Clifford*.

*Humphry* Earl of *Stafford*, married *Margaret*, Siſter and Co-heir of *Edmond Beuford*, Duke of *Somerſet*, who had Iſſue, *Henry Stafford*, who ſucceeded his Grandfather in the Dukedom of *Buckingham*.

The

The Duke of *York* with all befitting complements, conveyeth the King to *London*, where they keep the Feast of *Pentecost* together, and in the mean time a Parliament is summoned at *Westminster*, to begin the 9. day of *July*: whither the King cometh, and there it is enacted, that the late Duke of *Glocester* should be declared publickly a Loyal Subject both to the King and Realm; and that none should misreport, or dispute the actions of the Duke of *York*, or any in his company: For that they had like good Subjects enterprised nothing, but what was for the Kings safety.

In this Parliament the Duke of *York* is made Protector of the Kings Royal Person, and of the Realm; the Earl of *Salisbury* Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of *Warwick* Captain of *Callice*: The former two have the administration of all Civil Government of the Common-weal at home; and upon the third is conferred, the disposing of all Military affairs abroad. Their demeanors in their several places, were judged unblameable, for with that respective moderation, and orderly proceedings, they managed their affairs, that they shewed no Injustice, used no Bribery, exercised no Oppression, but practised indifferency to Poor and Rich, to their great commendation.

But all this while, the high spirited Queen cannot but distaste their proceedings, she puts the Duke of *Buckingham* in mind (as though his revenge were slow and sleepy) that these Traitors had slain that noble Gentleman and hopeful Son of his at *St. Albones*; she tells the now Duke of *Somerſet*, that there his dear Father fell; and both retort to the Queen, the unsufferable indignity done to her, in making her Husband a *Whitſontide* Lord, only a King in Name, whilst the Duke of *York* and his complices must manage all: what needs spurs to willing minds, or provocations to rage thoroughly incensed? All are apt enough to revenge, But the curst Cow hath short horns, envy must invent, and malice execute the course of revenge, a Womans wit thoroughly stung with disgrace, and vilely stir'd with despoight, cannot long be undelivered, of some Plot to do mischief.

All the Enemies of the *York* faction (for now the Diſſel began to deal his alms, and to make a faction) are assembled by the Queen at *Greenwich*; where it is amongst them debated, what course is fittest to be used, for restitution of the King to his pristine Liberty and Government; at length it is concluded, that the Protector should be commanded to leave off his place of Protectorship, and the Earl of *Salisbury* his Chancellors place; the one in respect the King was of years, and discretion sufficient, without a Tutor or Guardian, to Rule and Reign, and therefore a Protectors place needless; and the Earl of *Salisbury* to surrender his Title of being Lord Chancellor, for that the great Seal was never delivered unto him; and that that which was now used, was made since the King's restraint of liberty, and so not sufficient. The King's easie yielding condition is quickly wrought upon, to countenance their proceedings against the Duke and Earl, and thereupon in his Name, they are both discharged from their Offices, and summoned to appear at the Council Table at *Greenwich*; whither if they had been so forgetful as to have gone, they had been entrapped; but they better advised, returned answer, That none had Power either to displace them, or command their appearance in any place, but in Parliament: and so they continued about *London*, placing their Friends and Fautors, in all places of Government, and displacing others whom they either not affected, or had cause to suspect; and with a triumvirate Authority, they took

An. 1455.

R. 33.

The Duke of  
*York* convey-  
eth the King  
to *London*.

*York* made  
Protector of  
the King.



An. 1455.  
R. 33.

The Merchant  
strangers ri-  
fled.

took *John Holland* Earl of *Exeter* out of the Sanctuary, and sent him prisoner to *Pomfret* Castle. These proceedings gave occasion to the licentious Commons, to take hold of any occasion for a commotion. And thereupon an *Italian* Merchant being by a *Mercers* Apprentice reprehended for wearing a Dagger, contrary to the Laws of their own Country, gave disdainful speeches, which moved the *English* Man to take his Dagger from him, and to break it over his Coxcomb; hereof the Merchant complaineth to the Mayor; the Mercer is convented and committed; the Mayor in his return, is met by divers, terming themselves Prentices, that would not be persuaded to depart, until the Mercer was sent for out of *Newgate*, who now being at liberty, draws divers (willing enough of themselves to go) to spoil the strangers about *London*, and ransack their Houses; wherewith like furious mad bedlam Men they rifled, and robbed the outlandish Merchants in all places of the City, doing them much mischief, and committing many outrages. The Mayor to suppress these enormous courses, assembleth a company of honest and substantial Citizens, who with good discretion, but not without some blood-shed, appeased their rage, and quieted the many, whilst the Ringleader (which more for revenge of his commitment to *Newgate*, than any desire to enrich himself with their spoil) got himself to *Westminster*, and there taketh Sanctuary. The Council being advertised of this misdemeanor, sent the Duke of *Buckingham*, by the Queens direction, with Commission to enquire, and punish these offences. But when the Mayor and the Commissioners were set, tidings came, that the Commons were up in Arms to stop all proceedings against any of those offenders; the Commissioners thereupon, well knowing how distasteful their Commission would be to the multitude, when thereby the Mayors power should be abridged, and the Government of the City questioned, departed and left the business to be proceeded in by the Mayor and his Brethren, who with great care and much industry so managed things, that many of the offenders were punished, some by Death, others by Fines and Imprisonment, and all things quieted and well ordered.

An Invasion  
attempted by  
the French.  
*Sandwich*  
plundered.

The French in this time of uncivil dissensions, manned out two Fleets, whereof one under the conduct of *William* Lord *Pomyers*; the other of *Sir Peter Bressy*, went Eastward and Westward: the Lord fell upon *Fulnay*, and burning certain Houses, soon retired; the Knight spoiled *Sandwich*, the people for fear of the Plague (which mightily raged there) being fled from thence, but with no great booty or harm done, returned.

The Scots  
make an in-  
road.

The Scots under colour and countenance of their Kings presence, came into *Northumberland*, burning and spoiling the Borders, but hearing of the Duke of *Yorks* approach, retired. *Thomas Percy* Lord *Egremont*, one of the younger Sons of the Earl of *Northumberland*, had a great conflict with the Earl of *Salisburys* Sons, in which many were slain; but the Lord was taken, and brought before the Council, by whom he was committed to *Newgate*, and deeply fined; but he escaped with many other prisoners, to the great trouble of the Sheriffs of *London*. Whilst the Duke of *York* was absent for repelling the rebellious Scots in the North, the King went to *Greenwich* to the Queen, who persuaded him for his health and recreation, as she alleaged, (but her drift was, for that she found by experience, that the Duke of *York* was more favoured, and his favourites respected about *London*, then either she or the King, so that it was in vain to attempt any thing against him there; yet something must be done against him, or else she should

The Sheriffs  
of *London* in  
trouble for the  
escape of the  
Lord *Egri-  
mond*.

(should be undone) to take his Progress Northward into *Warwickshire*, which he did; by the way Hawking and Hunting, the Queen making shew of minding nothing but pastimes, had caused private Letters under the Kings privy Signet, in most loving terms to be sent unto the three Lords, whereby they were earnestly solicited, by an hour appointed to be at *Coventry*, which they reverently intended. But by the way they have true information of the mischief plotted against them, and so warily by flight, but not without some danger, escaped; for they causing their Stewards with their retinue to go forward on the way to the Court, whilst the Duke of *York*, but with a Groom and a Page, sped him to *Wigmore* Castle. The Earl of *Salisbury* to his Castle of *Middelham* in the North. And the Earl of *Warwick* to the Seaside, and so to *Callice*; but before they departed, they agreed upon an Alphabet, by which they might have intercourse of Letters, which though intercepted, yet their intentions might be kept undiscovered.

An. 1455.  
R. 33.

The Duke of *York* with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick* betake themselves to their several strengths.

The King unwitting of this intended mischief against the Duke of *York* and his Friends, returneth to *London*, whither he calleth a Council, and therein of his own accord, desireth some course to be invented for the banishing of rancor and malice out of the Hearts of his Nobility; and to the end he might have the glory of the reconciliation, though themselves the good, he promised on his Salvation, a thing unusual with him so to assever, so to entertain the Duke of *York* and his Friends, that all discontents and injuries should be outwardly respectively forgotten, and inwardly religiously forgiven, and perpetual love and amity on all parties established; to this end, Messengers are dispatched to the Duke of *York*, and all other of what rank soever worthy notice to be taken off, which since the battel of *St. Albanes*, had expressed themselves to be displeased on either part; commanding them for urgent affairs of the Realm, and upon Royal promise of safe conduct, to repair to his Court at *London*, at a time appointed. The Duke of *York* having intimated to his Confederates his resolution, and given them admonition to provide for prevention of wrong, observantly came, and with four hundred Men well appointed, lodged at his House called *Bainards* Castle. The Earl of *Salisbury* with five hundred Men likewise lodged at his House called the *Herbor*; the Dukes of *Exeter* (lately released) and *Somerſet* with eight hundred Men were lodged without *Temple-Bar*. The Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Egremont*, and the Lord *Clifford* with fifteen hundred Men were lodged in *Holborn*; the Earl of *Warwick* with six hundred in red Jackets with ragged staves, embroidered behind and before, were lodged at the *Gray-Friers* in *London*. Upon the seventeenth of *March*, the King and Queen came to *London*, and were lodged at the Bishops Palace. The Mayor like a Provident Magistrate, commanded every Alderman in his Aldermanry to keep a standing watch in Arms both by day and night, himself having five thousand well appointed Men in readiness upon any occasion, rode with a competent number all day long round the City for preservation of the Kings peace on all sides. The Lords lodging within the City, held their Council at *Black-Friers*; the others, at the *Chapter-House* at *Westminster*. Between both, the reverent Archbishop of *Canterbury* the Son of *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Effex*, a Man every way compleat without exception, with some such Prelates, of whose modest condition and learning he had made experience, did diligently intercede, and so effectually laboured, that both sides by his mediation were well contented to come to Communication :



An. 1455.  
R. 33.  
The General  
agreement  
amongst the  
Nobility, by  
the mediation  
of the King.

tion : the success whereof was good, for that after much conference ) the wisdom of the indifferent being such, that all repetitions of wrongs on either side done, should be forborn ) it was finally concluded, that all wrongs, injuries, and misdemeanors on every side, should be forgotten and forgiven, that each side should be Friends to the other, and both be obedient to the Commands of the King. And by their further consent, the Duke of York, the Earl of Salisbury, and the Earl of Warwick, should assure forty five pounds *per annum*, to the Abby of St. Albanes, for Obites and ceremonious Suffrages of the Church (at that time usual ) for the benefit of the Souls of all such as were slain and buried at St. Albanes. And that those there slain, should be reputed and taken in an equal degree of Loyal Subjects, with those that survived of the adverse part.

That the Duke of York should give to *Elleanor*, Dowager of *Somerſet*, and *Henry* Duke of *Somerſet*, her Son, an assignment of five thousand marks, due to him from the King at his being in *Ireland*, to be distributed amongst her Children,

That the Earl of *Warwick* should likewise assign a thousand Marks due to him from the King, to be distributed amongst the Children of the late Duke of *Somerſet*.

That whereas *Thomas Piercy* Lord *Egrimond*, and *Richard Piercy*, Sons of the Countess of *Northumberland*, were at a Sessions in *Yorkſhire* fined at divers great sums of mony, to the Earl of *Salisbury* his Wife and Children. And that the said Lord *Egrimond* was for payment thereof committed to the prison, from whence he escaped, for whose escape *Verney* and *Steward*, Sheriffs of *London*, were sued. That the said Earl should acquit all those fines, to the said Lord *Egrimond* and his Brother, and release all actions to the said late Sheriffs.

That the said Lord *Egrimond* should ever enter into recognizance of ten thousand pounds in the Chancery, to keep the peace against the Earl of *Salisbury* his Ladies Children, Servants and Tenants.

That the General releases on all parts should be made of all Appeals, and personal actions whatsoever.

That the two Lords Chief Justices should hear and determine any debates and controversies that might casually arise, for any thing formerly done amongst the Tenants, or Servants of either party, without further proceedings.

That the Recognizances to be entred into of all Hands, for the performance of this Award, should stand of force, without pardoning or parceling the sums.

This Award, Order and Agreement, was ratified under the Great Seal of *England*, the 24. day of *March*, in the six and thirtieth year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Sixth.

An. 1456.

Upon the publication whereof at the Feast of the Annunciation of our Lady *St. Mary* the Virgin, a solemn Procession was made in the Cathedral of *S. Pauls*. At which the King was present in Royal habit, wearing his Crown Imperial; before him Hand in Hand went the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Duke of *Exeter* and the Earl of *Warwick*, and so one of one, and another of the other part, till they were all Marshallled; behind the King came the Queen, the Duke of *York* leading her by the Hand: who in going, made shew of favourable countenance towards him. Service ended, they return as afore to the Court, in all outward appearance truly

truly reconciled. But the appearance of the Blazing Stars, the strange apparitions in the Elements, the more strange sight of a seeming monstrous Cock, to come out of the Sea, and in the presence of a multitude of people, at *Portland*, to make a hideous Crowing, three times, each time turning about clapping his wings, and beckening towards the *North*, the *South*, and the *West*, with many prodigious births, did but preface the admirable occurrences of things this year following. In which, as if with a general deluge of civil dissention, the whole Christian World should be overthrow'n; beside, the rent in the Church by the schisme of many Popes. No Countrey being free from rebellions, or factions; subjects against their King, the Brother against the Brother, the Son against the Father, the Wife against the Husbands Son.

For example, desire of rule (saith the *Spanish Historian*) being an affection of a greater magnanimous nature, did so far possess Prince *Charles*, Son of *Henry* the fourth, King of *Castile*, that he opposed his Father; against whom his Mother-in-law took Arms, in defence of King *Henry* her Husband; from which pernicious quarrel, which proved successeless, to the same did spring the two factions of *Beaumont* and *Gramont*, which for many years together infested *Navarre* and *Leon*, and was the cause of effusion of much Christian Blood.

The *Gauntoys* rebel against the Duke of *Burgoyne*, who being succoured by the *Hollanders*, routs their forces, and makes a great slaughter amongst them; and *Charles* the seventh, sends the Earl of *Dampmurtyn* in a miserable employment (saith the *French Historian*) against the *Dolphin*, who was in Arms against his Father, whom they enforce to flie to the Duke of *Burgoyne*; who about that time to make his Bastard, Bishop of *Utrich*, had committed much slaughter amongst the *Brabanters*, and raised his Son a stair of slaughtered carcasses to mount into the Bishops Chair.

More Popes than one bred disorder, the great scandal in Religion and prejudice of Christians. The Emperour not being able to cure the infirmity of the mind by force, hath recourse to the authority of the Church, he intimateth to all the Kings and Potentates of Christendom, his desire to have a general Council at *Constance*, to which all consent; and the Emperors of *Constantinople* and *Trapifond*, with the Churches of *Greece*, send Embassadors.

In the Council *John* the 23. is convented, condemned, deposed and imprisoned; *Gregory* the 12. and *Benedict* the 13. are deprived, and *Orko Colon*, by the name of *Martin* the 15. is chosen Pope by the Council. Somewhat before this time in *England*, *John Wickliff*, and *John Huss* in *Bohemia*, had so perswaded, that divers were ready to disclaim the Popes authority, teaching them not only to leave the abuse of manners; but the Doctrine it self; affirming that it was lawful for Subjects to reform Religion, when Princes refuse to do it; but their dangerous opinions were condemned for Heresies. The Council ended, but the Schism continued, and during these confusions in the Western Church, the Christians in the Eastern parts are utterly ruined, the Emperor smothered to death in a prease of people, and *Constantinople* made the Seat of the *Mahometan* Emperor.

An affray unfortunately falleth out betwixt a servant of the Earl of *Warwicks*, and a Courtier, who in the encounter is dangerously wounded; the Earls man flyeth. The Kings servants, seeing their fellow hurt, and the offender escaped, watch the Earls coming from the Council Table, and

An. 1458.  
R. 34.  
Strange apparitions.

Son against Father.

1459.  
Subjects against Sovereigns.  
Father against Son.

A fray.



An. 1459.  
R. 34.

Three great  
Carracks ta-  
ken worth  
10000. l.

Two Battels  
fought.

The Lord  
Audley slain.

and assail him : many are hurt, the Earl getteth a Wherry, and so escapeth to *London*. The Queen incontinently commands him to be committed to the Tower; but he seeing where it began to rain in at, posts to *Yorkshire*, where he acquaints the Duke of *York*, and his Father, of all the occurrences, with the palpable discovery of the Queens cankered disposition, advising them to stand upon their guard, and to provide to keep out the approaching storm; and so speeds to *Callice*. And being then Lord Admiral, to prevent revocation of that Office, he speeds himself to Sea with all the Kings ships that were in readines, and scoureth the Seas, meets with five great Carracks, three of *Genoa*, and two of *Spain*, and after two dayes fight, takes three of them; with which he returneth to *Callice*, where he discharged their freight, and found it worth ten thousand pounds in Staple Commodities, besides the ships and prisoners. In the mean time, as it was before agreed upon, the Earl of *Salisbury* with about five thousand men marcheth through *Lancashire*, to pass that way to the King, and to acquaint him with the affront offered to his Son, and the inveterate malice discovered in the Queen against him. The Queen, with the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Buckingham*, gave order unto the Lord *Audley* to apprehend *Salisbury*, sending to him (as to that end she had provided many badges of a white Swan for a publick expression of being firm to her and her Son) one badge thereof for himself, and divers others to bestow on such well deservers, as should by him be approved of; whereupon he levieth, of *Cheshire* and *Shropshire*, ten thousand men, with which about a mile from *Drayton*, in a plain called *Blore-beath*, he attended the Earl, there being a small brook, but of some depth, between them.

Early in the morning, the Earl made a seeming retreat, which the Lord *Audley* observing, he presently causeth his Troops to pass the River; but before they could be reduced again in order, the Earl with his whole strength falls upon them, and with the slaughter of the Lord *Audley*, and most of them that had past the River, he discomfited the residue: there were slain about four and twenty hundred of them. Sir *John*, and Sir *Thomas Nevill*, Knights, the Earls Sons, are sore wounded, who with Sir *Thomas Harrington* travelling into the North Countrey, were apprehended and sent as Prisoners towards *Chester*. But upon a message sent from the Marchmen, their Keepers quickly released them.

The Duke of *York* now begins to resent these proceedings, and resolveth no longer to be looker on, but like a free gamester, to venter a Cast for all; he levies men, makes preparation to take the field, sends to *Salisbury* to do the like; who sends to *Warwick*, and all resolve to set up their rest. Amongst others of approved valiancy that *Warwick* had brought from *Callice* with him, were two principal noted men for direction and policy, *Andrew Trollop*, and *John Blunt*. The Army in the Marches of *Wales* near *Shropshire* are strongly encamped. The King with the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter*, the chief of the *Lancastrian* Family, draw their forces to *Worcester*, from whence *Richard Beauchamp* Bishop of *Salisbury* is sent, to offer the *Yorkists* a full and general pardon, if they would give over this enterprise, and become Loyal Subjects: this message was answered, that there was no trust in the Kings pardons as long as the hen crowed; therefore they durst not submit unto them: but if any course might be given them, of assurance of their safety, they would express their Loyalty, and render themselves at his service. The King thereupon advanceth nearer, and approaching the

the Lords Army, he causeth Proclamation to be made, that whosoever would abandon the Duke of *York*, should be received to mercy, and have pardon; whereupon the night following, *Andrew Trollop*, with all the *Callicians*, submit to the King, and by him are all the counsels of the Duke of *York* discovered, which so much discouraged the Duke of *York*, that, he with his young Son the Earl of *Rutland*, fled first into *Wales*, then into *Ireland*: the Earls of *March*, *Salisbury*, and *Warwick*, got into *Devonshire*, where, by the means of *John Dinham*, they were shipt from *Exmouth* to *Gernsey*, and so to *Callice*, where they were well entertained. The King pardons all the common Souldiers, makes some exemplary punishment of few of the Captains, sendeth the Dutcheſs of *York* and her two younger children to the Dutcheſs of *Buckingham* her ſiſter, to be ſafely kept; and then, having ſpoyled the Town and Caſtle of *Ludlow*, he diſmiſt his Army.

A Parliament is convoked at *Coventry*, in which, amongſt other things, the Duke of *York* and all his confederates are convict of Treason, and all their Lands and goods ſeized on to the Kings uſe. *Henry* Duke of *Somerſet*, the inheritor with his fortunes of his Fathers favour with the Queen, by her means is made Captain of *Callice*, whither, coming to take poſſeſſion of his new charge, he was forced to retire out of the harbour, the Ordnance from *Ricebank* playing ſo hot upon him.

The Queen herewith much incenſed, in heat of paſſion giveth order to furniſh and make ready all the Kings ſhips lying at *Sandwich*, to give aſſiſtance to *Somerſet*; but the before-mentioned *John Dinham*, with his Weſtern Mariners, who all well affected the Earl of *March*, boarded thoſe ſhips in the harbour, and took the Lord *Rivers*, who was deſigned Admiral for that ſervice, and carried both him and the ſhips to *Callice*; from whence the Earl ſayled to *Ireland* to the Duke of *York*, where having conferred, and concluded what courſe to take, he returned to *Callice* (the new Admiral the Duke of *Exeter* not daring to ſtop his courſe in his return.)

Sir *Simon Momford* was appointed to guard the Cinque-ports, having divers ſhips under his command, to bar the Earl of *Warwicks* entrance; but the Earl by his eſpialls having perfect intelligence of all paſſages, fell ſuddenly upon Sir *Simon*, before his ſhips were full ready, took him Priſoner, ranſackt the Town of *Sandwich*, and carried his priſoner and his ſhips to *Callice*; by the way he underſtood, how much the Kentiſh-men deſired his ſpeedy return, and to come on ſhore in their Countrey, where they were ready to give him all aſſiſtance. Whereupon the ſecond time the Earl came to *Sandwich*, to whom preſently reſorted the Lord *Cobham*, and divers Gentlemen, inſomuch, that now they were 25000 ſtrong, with which the Earl of *Warwick* marched towards *London*, againſt whom the Lord *Scales* was appointed to oppoſe, and with ſome convenient Troops to aſſure *London*; but the Lord Maior utterly reſuſed to admit him entrance; ſaying, he was able enough, without his council or help, to keep what the King had committed to his charge. Whereupon the Lord *Scales* reſorted to the Tower from whence afterwards he did the *Londoners* many diſcourteſies. *Warwick* well pleaſed with the *Londoners* promiſe, not to impeach his paſſage, and having notice that his Father was upon march to meet him, paſſeth over his men, and without impeachment, joyned with his Father and his friends near *Exeter*.

The King, with the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Buckingham*, with a great Army marcheth towards them, and near unto the Town of *Northampton* both

Q

Armies

An. 1459.

R. 34.

The Duke of  
*York* flyeth.

A Parliament.

The Earl of  
*Warwick* with  
25000 men  
taketh the  
field.Third Battel  
at Nor-  
thampton.



An. 1459.  
R. 34.

Three great  
Carracks ta-  
ken worth  
10000. l.

and assail him : many are hurt, the Earl getteth a Wherry, and so escapeth to *London*. The Queen incontinently commands him to be committed to the Tower; but he seeing where it began to rain in at, posts to *Yorkshire*, where he acquaints the Duke of *York*, and his Father, of all the occurrences, with the palpable discovery of the Queens cankered disposition, advising them to stand upon their guard, and to provide to keep out the approaching storm; and so speeds to *Callice*. And being then Lord Admiral, to prevent revocation of that Office, he speeds himself to Sea with all the Kings ships that were in readines, and scoureth the Seas, meets with five great Carracks, three of *Genoa*, and two of *Spain*, and after two dayes fight, takes three of them; with which he returneth to *Callice*, where he discharged their freight, and found it worth ten thousand pounds in Staple Commodities, besides the ships and prisoners. In the mean time, as it was before agreed upon, the Earl of *Salisbury* with about five thousand men marcheth through *Lancashire*, to pass that way to the King, and to acquaint him with the affront offered to his Son, and the inveterate malice discovered in the Queen against him. The Queen, with the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Buckingham*, gave order unto the Lord *Audley* to apprehend *Salisbury*, sending to him (as to that end she had provided many badges of a white Swan for a publick expression of being firm to her and her Son) one badge thereof for himself, and divers others to bestow on such well-deservers, as should by him be approved of; whereupon he levieth, of *Cheshire* and *Shropshire*, ten thousand men, with which about a mile from *Drayton*, in a plain called *Blore-beath*, he attended the Earl, there being a small brook, but of some depth, between them.

Two Battels  
fought.

The Lord  
*Audley* slain.

Early in the morning, the Earl made a seeming retreat, which the Lord *Audley* observing, he presently causeth his Troops to pass the River; but before they could be reduced again in order, the Earl with his whole strength falls upon them, and with the slaughter of the Lord *Audley*, and most of them that had past the River, he discomfited the residue: there were slain about four and twenty hundred of them. Sir *John*, and Sir *Thomas Nevill*, Knights, the Earls Sons, are sore wounded, who with Sir *Thomas Harrington* travelling into the North Countrey, were apprehended and sent as Prisoners towards *Chester*. But upon a message sent from the Marchmen, their Keepers quickly released them.

The Duke of *York* now begins to resent these proceedings, and resolveth no longer to be looker on, but like a free gamester, to venter a Cast for all; he levies men, makes preparation to take the field, sends to *Salisbury* to do the like; who sends to *Warwick*, and all resolve to set up their rest. Amongst others of approved valiancy that *Warwick* had brought from *Callice* with him, were two principal noted men for direction and policy, *Andrew Trollop*, and *John Blunt*. The Army in the Marches of *Wales* near *Shropshire* are strongly encamped. The King with the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter*, the chief of the *Lancastrian* Family, draw their forces to *Worcester*, from whence *Richard Beauchamp* Bishop of *Salisbury* is sent, to offer the *Yorkists* a full and general pardon, if they would give over this enterprise, and become Loyal Subjects: this message was answered, that there was no trust in the Kings pardons as long as the hen crowed; therefore they durst not submit unto them: but if any course might be given them, of assurance of their safety, they would express their Loyalty, and render themselves at his service. The King thereupon advanceth nearer, and approaching the

the Lords Army, he causeth Proclamation to be made, that whosoever would abandon the Duke of York, should be received to mercy, and have pardon; whereupon the night following, *Andrew Trollop*, with all the *Callicians*, submit to the King, and by him are all the counsels of the Duke of York discovered, which so much discouraged the Duke of York, that, he with his young Son the Earl of *Rutland*, fled first into *Wales*, then into *Ireland*: the Earls of *March*, *Salisbury*, and *Warwick*, got into *Devonshire*, where, by the means of *John Dinham*, they were shipped from *Exmouth* to *Gernsey*, and so to *Callice*, where they were well entertained. The King pardons all the common Souldiers, makes some exemplary punishment of few of the Captains, sendeth the Dutcheſs of York and her two younger children to the Dutcheſs of *Buckingham* her ſiſter, to be ſafely kept; and then, having ſpoiled the Town and Caſtle of *Ludlow*, he diſmiſt his Army.

A Parliament is convoked at *Coventry*, in which, amongſt other things, the Duke of York and all his confederates are convict of Treason, and all their Lands and goods ſeized on to the Kings uſe. *Henry* Duke of *Somerſet*, the inheritor with his fortunes of his Fathers favour with the Queen, by her means is made Captain of *Callice*, whither, coming to take poſſeſſion of his new charge, he was forced to retire out of the harbour, the Ordnance from *Ricebank* playing ſo hot upon him.

The Queen herewith much incensed, in heat of paſſion giveth order to furniſh and make ready all the Kings ſhips lying at *Sandwich*, to give aſſiſtance to *Somerſet*; but the before-mentioned *John Dinham*, with his Weſtern Mariners, who all well affected the Earl of *March*, boarded thoſe ſhips in the harbour, and took the Lord *Rivers*, who was deſigned Admiral for that ſervice, and carried both him and the ſhips to *Callice*; from whence the Earl ſayled to *Ireland* to the Duke of York, where having conferred, and concluded what courſe to take, he returned to *Callice* (the new Admiral the Duke of *Exeter* not daring to ſtop his courſe in his return.)

Sir *Simon Momford* was appointed to guard the Cinque-ports, having divers ſhips under his command, to bar the Earl of *Warwick*s entrance; but the Earl by his eſpials having perfect intelligence of all paſſages, fell ſuddenly upon Sir *Simon*, before his ſhips were full ready, took him Priſoner, ranſackt the Town of *Sandwich*, and carried his priſoner and his ſhips to *Callice*; by the way he underſtood, how much the Kentiſh-men deſired his ſpeedy return, and to come on ſhore in their Countrey, where they were ready to give him all aſſiſtance. Whereupon the ſecond time the Earl came to *Sandwich*, to whom preſently reſorted the Lord *Cobham*, and divers Gentlemen, inſomuch, that now they were 25000 ſtrong, with which the Earl of *Warwick* marched towards *London*, againſt whom the Lord *Scales* was appointed to oppoſe, and with ſome convenient Troops to aſſure *London*; but the Lord Major utterly reſuſed to admit him entrance; ſaying, he was able enough, without his counſel or help, to keep what the King had committed to his charge. Whereupon the Lord *Scales* reſorted to the Tower from whence afterwards he did the *Londoners* many diſcourteſies. *Warwick* well pleaſed with the *Londoners* promiſe, not to impeach his paſſage, and having notice that his Father was upon march to meet him, paſſeth over his men, and without impeachment, joyned with his Father and his friends near *Exeter*.

The King, with the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Buckingham*, with a great Army marcheth towards them, and near unto the Town of *Northampton* both

Q

Armies

An. 1459.

R. 34.

The Duke of York flyeth.

A Parliament.

The Earl of Warwick with 25000 men taketh the field.

Third Battel at Northampton.



An. 1459.  
R. 39.

Armies meet. The Earl of *March*, with the advice of the Earl of *Warwick*, prepares for the fight.

The Queen (the King more intentive of devotion than fighting) did the like. The fight began and continued on uncertain terms above two hours; In the mean time were slain on both sides above ten thousand men. But upon the fall of *Humphry* Duke of *Buckingham*, by the good policy of the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lord *Gray* of *Rutbens* joyning with them, who led the Vantguard of the Kings part, withdrew to the Lords side, the Earls party prevailed, and *John Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Thomas* Lord *Egri-mond*, *John* Vicount *Beaumont*, and some others of mark, were slain.

This Duke *Humphry* married *Anne* Daughter of *Ralph* *Newill*, Earl of *Westmerland*, and had issue, four Sons and three Daughters; *Humphry* the eldest, slain as afore, at *Saint Albans*, *John* Earl of *Wilts*, *Richard* died young, *Robert* Bishop of *Canterbury*; *Katherine*, married to *John* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Jane*, married first to *William* Lord *Bardolph*, then to Sir *William* *Knevet*; and *Anne*, married to *Aubry de Vere*, and after to Sir *Thomas* *Cobham*.

Vicount *Beaumont* married *Elizabeth* Daughter and Heir of *William* *Philips* Lord *Bardolph*, who had issue, two Sons and one Daughter, *William* and *Henry*, who both dying without issue, left *Jane*, who was married to *John* Lord *Lovell*, to be their Heir.

The Queen, with the Duke of *Somerſet*, and some few others, taking with them the young Prince, fled to the Bishoprick of *Durham*. The King was taken, and as a prisoner conveyed to *London*. At their coming thither, the Tower of *London* is yielded unto the Earl of *Warwick*. The Lord *Scales* in disguised apparel endeavouring to escape, is taken by the Watermen, and by them without due course of Law, or orderly proceeding, beheaded, and his Corps carelessly left upon the sands. *Tho. Thorp* one of the Barons of the Exchequer (upon whose advice the *Lancastrians* much relied) in the habit of a Monk, his crown shorn, purposely to fly to the Queen, is taken and committed prisoner to the Tower.

The Duke of *York* at this time being neither idle nor asleep, being advertised of this good success, leaveth *Ireland*, and posts to *London*, where by the advice and consent of the *York* faction, he thought fit to discover the head of that ambitious serpent, that hitherto had been covered in the grass of reformation; and so, that in the Kings name he summoneth a Parliament; which being assembled, in the presence of the Lords in the Upper-house, he placeth himself in the Imperial Seat, and with great courage and a confident brow, he layeth open his rightful claim and Title to the Crown of *England*, as being the Son and Heir of *Anne*, Daughter and Heir of *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, Son and Heir of *Philip*, the sole Daughter and Heir of *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence*, the third Son of *Edward* the third, and elder Brother of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, Father of the usurper *Henry* the fourth, Grand father to *Henry* the fifth, who was Father to him that untruly stileth himself King *Henry* the sixth. He further related, that God had not blessed this unlawful usurpation; for by means thereof the Common-wealth had suffered so many and so grievous calamities, that had not God been the more merciful, the same had been overwhelmed by the multitude and grievousness thereof; that though *Henry* the fifth had many conquests in *France* and *Normandy*, yet, as of ill gotten possessions, his Heir could not take any benefit by them. And how much heaven is at this time offended with his government, we may well fear, if we but call to mind the cruel butchering of so many honourable great Lords, in defence of his Title abroad; the slaughter of so many thousand of his loyal sub-

jects

*Warwick* poss-  
est of the  
Tower.

The Duke of  
*York* puts in  
claim.

jects in maintenance of his quarrel, the inutterable exhaust of the treasure unnecessarily consumed in *France*, *Normandy*, and elsewhere. The civil broils at home, the loss of all formerly got in *France*, and those parts; the loss occasioned by the excursion and depredations of the *Scots* and *French*. And lastly, the oppressions, extortions, and violence, daily unsufferably practised by the tyranny of an insolently ambitious woman, upon the meaner sort of people. And then concluded, that he craved no favour from them, except that justice did warrant his claim, nor would expect or desire the possession of the Crown, except his descent were undisputable, and his Title without just exception; and for his own particular, he presumed, that since virtue might be as bold to challenge its due, as vice is apt to borrow of insinuation, he might without offence put in his claim, and demand allowance thereof.

This being a business of import, required deliberation, and mature consideration; but in conclusion, the Duke having before-hand by his agents prepared the Lords Spiritual, and few of the Nobility present, that were not on his part, the Burgesses were easily perswaded, and that was generally resolved and enacted accordingly; That King *Henry* during his life should retain the name and honour of a King; That the Duke of *York* should be proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown, and the Protector of the Kings Person, his Land, Dominions, and Countrey; That if at any time, any of King *Henry's* Friends, Allies, or Favorites, in his behalf, should attempt the disannulling of this act, that then the Duke should have present possession of the Crown.

The Duke of *York* to be proclaimed Heir to the Crown, and Protector.

No sooner was the Parliament dissolved, when the Duke dispatcheth Letters into *Scotland*, requiring in the Kings name, the Queen, the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter*, and all other of the Nobility that remained in that Kingdom, with all speed to repair to his Presence to *London*. But they were otherwise resolved. And having gotten together of *English* and *Scots*, to the number of eighteen thousand men, they marched into *England*. The Duke of *York*, with his younger Son, the Earl of *Rutland*, with the Earl of *Salisbury*, leaving the King in the custody of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, marched towards the Queen; and approaching near her Army at *Wakefield* the Dukes Scouts being returned, certified him, that the Enemy far exceeded their power in number, and all Warlike preparation. Whereupon the Earl of *Salisbury* advised the Duke to retire, and attend the coming of the Earl of *March*, who was gone into *Wales* to raise the *Marchmen*. But it being appointed, that here his ambitious desires should come to a period, the pride of his former victory, and overweening of his Souldiers valours, made him deaf to all counsel of forbearing the field, and hastened on by his destiny, from *Sandall* Castle he marched to *Wakefield* green, where the Lord *Clifford* on the one side, and the Earl of *Wilts* on the other, were placed in ambuscado. The Duke of *York* supposing that the Duke of *Somerſet*, who had the Battel, had no more forces but what were with him, valiantly and in good order marcheth towards him; but being entred within their danger, the ambushes on both sides broke out upon him, and slew him, and three thousand of his side, the rest with number and confusion overborn, fled; the Earl of *Salisbury* is taken Prisoner, and harmless *Rutland*, that came thither but to see fashions, is made a sacrifice for his Fathers transgression; and kneeling upon his knees (instructed by his infant fears) with tears begging life, is unmercifully stabbed to the heart by the Lord *Clifford*, in part of revenge, as he swore, of his Fathers death. The Queen unwilling to be behind-hand in cruelty, as unlike a merciful Woman,

Fourth Battel at *Wakefield*.

Young *Rutland* butchered.



A<sup>n</sup>. 1458.

R. 34.

The Earl of  
Salisbury be-  
headed.

man, as he an honourable gentleman in cold blood, without due form of tryal, causeth the Earl of *Salisbury*, and as many as were taken prisoners, to be beheaded at *Pomfret* Castle, and to have their heads, as it were, in scorn to be placed on poles about the walls of the City of *Tork*, an incitement, as it were, to make all interested in the shame, to add spurs to the speedy course of vindicative desires, and to draw on revenge to the uttermost.

This *Richard Nevill*, Earl of *Salisbury*, was third Son of *Ralph Nevill*, first Earl of *Westmerland*, by *Joan* his second Wife, Daughter of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*; he married *Elianor*, Daughter and Heir of *Thomas Montague* Earl of *Salisbury*, and had issue, four Sons and six Daughters.

1. *Richard* the eldest was restored, and succeeded in the Earldom.

2. *John* the second, was Created Marquess *Montague*.

3. *Thomas* married the Widow of the Lord *Willoughby*.

4. *George* was Archbishop of *Tork*, and Lord Chancellor.

1. *Joane* the eldest Daughter, was married to *William Fitz-Allen* Earl of *Arundell*.

2. *Cecily* was married to *Henry Beauchamp* Duke of *Warwick*.

3. *Alice* was married to *Henry Lord Fitz-Hugh*.

4. *Elianor* to *Thomas Stanley* Earl of *Derby*.

5. *Katherine* to *William Bonville*, Lord *Harrington*; and

6. *Margaret* to *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*.

*Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *Tork*, took to Wife *Cecily*, Daughter of *Ralph Nevill*, first Earl of *Westmerland*, and had issue, eight Sons and four Daughters.

1. His eldest Son *Henry* died young.

2. *Edward* afterwards King of *England*.

3. *Edmond* Earl of *Rutland*, slain with his Father.

4. *John*

5. *William* } died young.

6. *Thomas* }

7. *George*, after Duke of *Clarence*.

8. *Richard*, surnamed *Crouchback*, after King of *England*.

1. *Anne* his eldest Daughter, was married to *Henry Holland* Duke of *Exeter*.

2. *Elizabeth* married to *John de la Poole*, Earl of *Suffolk*.

3. *Margaret* married to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*.

4. And *Yrsula*.

1461.

The Earl of *March* having tidings of his Fathers death, encreaseth his Army, and born up with two Wings, desire of revenge and expectation to reign, he took his leave at *Shrewsbury*, of the Inhabitants, intimating to them at his departure, the murder of his Father and Brother, the destruction intended of himself and Family, and downfal of all that wisht well to his part (if not heedfully prevented) he craved therefore their utmost assistance, and their Neighbours, which they accordingly performed; and then with some good strength, presently took the field; and having advertisement that *Jaspar* Earl of *Pembrook*, with the Earls of *Ormond* and *Wiltshire*, with a great power of *Welch* and *Irish*, did follow after him, he suddenly marcheth back again, and in a Plain near *Mortimers* Cross, on *Candlemas* day in the morning he gave them Battel, and with the slaughter of three thousand and eight hundred, put the Earls to flight. *Owen Teuther*, who had married Queen *Katherine*, Mother to *Henry* the sixth, and divers *Welch* Gentlemen were taken, and at *Hereford* beheaded.

The

Fifth Battel at  
*Mortimers*  
Cross.

The Queen, encouraged by the death of the Duke of *York*, with a power of Northern people, with an intent to undo what was done in the last Parliament, marcheth towards *London*; but when her Souldiers were once South of *Trent*, as if that River had been the utmost limits of their good behaviour, they did most licentiously forrage the Countrey, harrowing, burning, and spoiling the same, as if they had been in the most barbarous land of heathens. Approaching Saint *Albones*, they were advertised that the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Warwick* were ready to give them Battel. The Queens Voward hasteth to pass thorow Saint *Albones*, but were saluted (from the Market place) with such a showre of Arrows, that they were for safeguard glad to retire, and sought to pass by another way, which (but not without some blowes) they did, and encountred with their Enemies in the field; who perceiving the main Battel to stand, and not to move, by the treachery of *Lonelace*, who with the Kentish-men led the Voward, the Southern men turned aside and fled, and by the Northern prickers were slaughtered, until night saved their backs. When night was come, the residue, despairing of each others well-meaning, shifted away. The Nobles about the King perceiving how the game went, withdrew themselves. The Lord *Bonville* coming in a complemental manner to the King, saying, It grieved him to leave His Majesty, but necessity for safeguard of his life enforced it, was importuned, and Sir *Thomas Kyrrell* likewise, by the King to stay, he passing his royal word, that their stay should not endanger their bodies; upon which promise they stayed, but to their cost; for such was the implacable fury of the Queen, that hearing Baron *Thorp* was by the Commons beheaded at *Highgate*, the day after the Battel, being *Ashwednesday*, caused both their heads to be smitten off at *St. Albones*; whose death reckoned with the rest, maketh up of the slaughtered the number of three and twenty hundred.

The King was advised to send one *Thomas Hoe*, that had been a Barrester, to the Victors, to thank them for their pains, and to tell them that he would gladly come to them, if with convenience it might be done. The Earl of *Northumberland* appointed divers Lords to attend him to the Lord *Cliffords* Tent, where the Queen and young Prince met him to their great joy; it was now observed, that victory always fled from where the King was present. At the Queens request, he honoured with the order of Knighthood, thirty, that the day before fought against the part where he was: the Prince likewise was by him dubbed Knight. Then they went to the Abbey, where they were entertained with Anthems, and withal, an humble Petition to be taken into the Kings protection, thereby to be freed from the tyranny of the loose Soldiers; which was promised, and Proclamation accordingly made; but to small purpose; for the Northern men said, it was made in their bargain, to have all the spoil in every place, after they had passed the River of *Trent*, and so they robbed and spoiled all they could come at; which gave just cause of dislike to the indifferent-minded, which only wisht the quiet, and peace of the Countrey, not respecting which Rose, the red or white, prevailed; for now began that distinction by those Badges, for the factions of *York* and *Lancaster* to be worn

The *Londoners* hearing of this disorder, were warned to look to themselves, and they were resolved, since there was no more assurance in the Kings promise, to keep the Northern men out of their gates. The gentleness and tenderness of a King, not accompanied with courage and severity, is both hurtful to himself and his estate.

An. 1461.  
R. 34.

Sixth Battel,  
and second at  
*St. Albones*.

The Lord  
*Bonville* and  
*Tho. Kyrrell*  
beheaded by  
the Queen,  
contrary to  
the Kings  
promise.

Thirty  
Knights made.  
Prince  
*Edward* dubbed  
Knight.

The Families  
of *York* and  
*Lancaster* distinguished  
by the red Rose  
and white.



An. 1458.

R. 34.

The Archbishop of Canterbury animated the Duke of York to take upon him the Crown.

In the Kings name the *Londoners* are sent to, to send over to the Camp, certain Cart-Loads of Lenton provision : The Mayor accordingly provides, and makes all things ready ; but the Commons rose about *Cripplegate*, and by strong hand, say or do what the Mayor or his Officers can, they kept the Carts from going forth of the City. The Mayor sends the Recorder to the Kings Council, and knowing the predominancy of the Queens passion, if never so little troubled, they entreat the Dutcheſs of *Bedford* and the Lady *Scales*, with all the Fathers of the Church resident about *London*, to interceed for him, and excuse his not using force, considering how apt the multitude was to take fire upon the least flash, and how dangerous it might be in these doubtful times, to raise their fury, that would not easily be allayed ; it was well advised, to send Women to entreat women, for they so prevailed, that some of the Lords of the Council, with a guard of four hundred good Soldiers, were appointed to go for *London*, to enquire and certifie the truth of these things. But before they set forth, divers Northern men, that long looked to have had the ransacking of *London*, came unto the gates, and would have entered, had not the Citizens valiantly repelled them, and with the slaughter of some three or four, they were sent to carry word to the Camp, that the Earl of *March*, with a great Army was marching towards them ; neither was it a fiction ; for at *Chipping Norton* by *Cotſall*, the Earl of *Warwick* having drawn together, as many of his scattered Troops as he could find, met with the Earl of *March*, and his victorious Troops, which being joyned, they hasted towards *London*, and were joyfully received upon the eight and twentieth day of *February* ; and upon Sunday the second of *March*, the Earl of *Warwick* mustered all his Army in Saint *Johns* fields ; and having caſt them in a ring, the Leader read unto them the agreement of the last Parliament, and then demanded whether they would have King *Henry* to Reign still ; who all cryed, No, no ; then they were askt whether they would have the Earl of *March*, eldest Son of the Duke of *York* (by that Parliament proclaimed King) to reign over them, and with a great clamour they cryed, Yea. Then went there certain Captains, and others, of the Common Council of the City, to the Earl of *March* to *Baynards* Castle, whom they acquainted with what was passed, whereof he expressed himself, in some terms, as unworthy of the place, and unable to execute it : yet he thanked God for the gift, and them for their good wills. And by the advice of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the animation of the Bishops of *London* and *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, he resolved to take it upon him. And the next morning he went in Proceſſion at *Pauls*, and offered there : and after *Te Deum* sung, he was with great royalty conveyed to *Westminster*, and there in the great Hall seated in the Kings seat, with the Scepter of Saint *Edward* in his hand. And then the people, (whereof there was a great concourse) were aloud demanded, if they would acknowledg him to be their King ; to which with great willingness they cryed, Yea, yea. Then taking homage of divers Noblemen then present, he was with Proceſſion and great state conveyed to the Abbey there, and placed in the Quire as King, whilst *Te Deum* was singing ; that done, he offered at Saint *Edwards* Shrine, and then returned by water to *Pauls*, and was lodged in the Bishops Palace. Upon the fourth of *March*, he was generally proclaimed King, by the name of *Edward* the fourth.

THE

T H E  
L I F E & R E I G N  
O F  
King Edward IV.



*DW A R D* Earl of *March*, born at *Roan* in *Normandy*, Son and Heir of *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, by *Cecily Nevill*, Daughter of *Ralph* Earl of *Westmerland*, and *Joan* Daughter of *John* of *Gaunt*, by Lady *Katherine Swinford*; upon the fourth day of *March*, rode in State to the Church of *Saint Paul* in *London*, and there made his Oblation : And after *Te Deum* sung, he was

with great solemnity attended to *Westminster*, and there being placed in the great Hall, with the Scepter Royal in his hand, before a confluence of people there assembled, (well knowing with what bait to angle, to catch the many) he makes a solemn declaration of his right to the Crown of *England*, challenging it to belong unto him by a double Title.

The first, as Son and Heir to *Richard* Duke of *York*, the rightful Heir, of the same.

The second, as elected by Authority of Parliament, upon King *Henry's* forfeit hereof. Nevertheless, he was resolved to wave both Title and Right, by either, except the people would willingly approve of his proceeding therein, and lovingly allow of his claim : Whereupon, it was again publicly demanded of the Assembly, if they would unanimously admit, and acknowledge the said Earl, to be their King and Sovereign Lord, whereupon all with one voice cried, *Yea, yea, King Edward, King Edward* : Thereupon he went from thence to *Westminster* Abbey, and entered the same with solemn Procession, and there as King offered; and afterward by the name of *Edward* the fourth, was proclaimed King, throughout the City of *London*.

In the mean time, King *Henry* in the North, was raising what powers he could to stop this Torrent : But the Earl of *March* (great in the favour of that great beast of many heads, the multitude) presuming of their ready willingness to assist him, makes preparation to encounter King *Henry*. To *Edward* resort men of all ages and condition, the one making tender of their persons, the other of their patrimonies, to be spent at his devotion, and for the support of his cause, by which means he suddenly was furnished, with a puissant and well accommodated army. And being perswaded that no other means

An. 1460.  
R. 1.

The Dukes  
Title to the  
Crown  
double.



An. 1460.  
R. 2.

Edward leav-  
eth London.

means would serve for direction of his claim, but the sword; he resolved to set up his rest, and by Battel to give a certain determination to the question.

Upon the twelfth of *March* his forces marched from *London*, and by easie journeys came to *Pomfret* Castle, where he rested; and from thence the Lord *Fitz-Walter* with some companies was sent by him to guard the passage at *Ferry-brig*, to stop the Enemies approach that way. King *Henry* likewise advanceth forward, and sends his power under the conduct of the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*. Whilst himself, Queen, and Son, stay at *Tork*.

The Lord *Clifford* very early on *Palme-Saturday* in the morning, with a Troop of *Northern Prickers*, falls upon those that had the guard of the passage at *Ferry-brig*, and defeated them, with the slaughter of the Lord *Fitz-Walter*, and the Bastard of *Salisbury*.

Lord Fitz-  
Walter slain at  
*Ferry-brig*.

The Earl of *Warwick* hearing of this defeat, posts to the Earl of *March* his Camp, and in his presence killing his horse, said, Sir I pray God have mercy on their soules, which in the beginning of your enterprise have for your love lost their lives. The Enemy hath won the passage at *Ferry-brig*: There is no hope now but in God; yet let him flie, that will flie; when (kissing the cross of his Sword) ye said, by this good Sign I will stand by him that will stand by me, fall back, fall edge.

1461.

The Earl of *March* no whit amated, but somewhat moved with *Warwicks* resolution, presently made Proclamation, that all such of his company, as were unwilling to stay, or afraid to fight, should at their pleasure depart. But to those that would abide, he promised good reward. Adding withal, that if any that stayed, should after turn his back, or flee; that he that should kill such a changeling, should have double pay.

Then gave he order to the Lord *Fauconbridge*, and Sir *Walter Blunt*, to lead on the Voward; who in their *March*, about *Dindingdale* encountred with the Lord *Clifford* (who formerly in cold blood had slaughtered the young Earl of *Rutland*) him, with *John Lord Nevill*, Son and Heir of the Earl of *Westmerland*, they slew, with most of their companies; putting the rest to flight.

The Lord  
*Clifford* slain.

The next day likewise (the Duke of *Norfolk* being dangerously sick, to whom that place was assigned) *Fauconbridge* and *Blunt* continue the leading of the Vantgard; and on *Palm-Sunday* by break of day they came to *Saxton*, from whence they made a full survey of King *Henry's* Army, and certified the Earl of *March*, that the Enemy was threescore thousand strong: whereupon a second Proclamation was made through the Camp, That no quarter should be kept, nor prisoners taken (a course more favouring of policy than Religion,) yet by so much the more excusable, by how much his number was so far short of his Adversary.

The Armies being both in fight; the Lord *Fauconbridge* gave direction to the Bow-men, upon a signal by him to be given, to shoot every man a flight arrow (for that purpose provided) and then to fall back three strides and stand, which they accordingly did. The *Northern* men hereupon plied their Bows, until their sheaves were empty, but all their Arrows fell short of the mark, and turned to their own disadvantage: For their Arrows being spent, hasting to joyn to come to hand-blows, their own Arrows did themselves much hurt, that had done the Adversary no harm at all: the nocks of those sticking, galling their shins; and the splinters of those

those broken, piercing their feet, whilst the Southern men shot at their bodies, as if they had been shooting at butts; policy prevailing beyond strength: ten hours in doubtful terms of victory the Battel continued. When the Earl of *Northumberland* being slain, with the Lords, *Beaumont*, *Gray*, and *Dacres*; the Earls of *Exeter*, and *Somerset* fled, left the conquest to the Earl of *March*, but the bloodiest that ever *England* felt; for on that day fell there thirty six thousand seven hundred threescore and sixteen persons, besides those that died of the hurts then received, all of one nation; no prisoners being taken but the Earl of *Devon*. This *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland* now slain, was the third Earl of the Family of *Piercies*: he married *Eleanor* Daughter and Heir of *Richard* Lord *Poyning*, by whom he had issue:

*Henry*, that succeeded him in the Earldom, and three Daughters.

*Elizabeth* married to *Henry* Lord *Scroop*.

*Eleanor*, married to *West* Lord *Laware*.

*Margaret*, married to Sir *William Gascoyne*.

The victor hastes to *York*, where he is readily admitted entrance, when presently he causeth the heads of his Father, and his friends, to be taken down and buried with their bodies; setting in their places the heads of the Earl of *Devon*, and three others, there then executed.

This Earl of *Devon* was *Thomas* the sixteenth Earl and Lord of *Ockhampton*; he married *Margaret* Daughter of *John* Bewford Earl of *Somerset*, by whom he had issue there Sons and two Daughters.

*Thomas* who was taken with his Father, and presently by reason of the Proclamation slain.

*Henry* the second Son, who was after beheaded at *Salisbury*; and

*John*, who was after slain at *Tewkesbury*.

The Father and the three Sons, with the loss of their best bloods witnessing their true affection to the house of *Lancaster*.

*Joan* his eldest Daughter, was married to Sir *Roger Clifford* Knight, and *Elizabeth* was married to Sir *Hugh Courtney* Knight.

The Earl of *Somerset* being the messenger of the late overthrow, persuades and prevails with King *Henry*, his Queen, and Son, from *York* to flie to *Barwick*, where leaving the Earl of *Somerset*, they flie further for succour to the King of *Scots*, who comforteth them with promise of relief, but maketh a sure bargain, and receiveth in lieu of a pension, to be assigned to King *Henry* during his aboad there, from him, upon Saint *Marks* day, the Town and Castle of *Barwick*; to such poor shifts was this Potent King driven, to pawn his best fortrefs for bare food.

Queen *Margaret* and her Son, are sent to *France* to labour there, whilst those that stayed with the King (himself being only intente to devotion) failed not to sollicite friends, and make preparation for a second encounter,

The Queen upon her arrival obtained of *Lewis* the eleventh her Cousin, that those of the house of *York* favorites, were prohibited traffick, or stay in the *French* Kings Dominions. But all such as loved the *Lancastrian* line were permitted freely.

In triumphant manner the Earl of *March* cometh to *London*, where he is by the Mayor and Citizens gloriously entertained, being by them upon the 26. day of *June* from *Lambeth* attended to the Tower of *London*, who upon his first entrance therein, invested four and twenty with

An. 1461

R. 2.

The Earl of  
Northumber-  
land with  
36796 English  
slain at Caxton  
field.



An. 1461.

R. 2.

Edward the  
fourth  
Crowned.

An. 1462.

R. 3.

with order of Knighthood; and upon the next day he did the like to four more.

Upon the 28. day of *June*, he rode through *London* from the Tower to *Westminster*, where he was Crowned in the Abbey there.

A Parliament is summoned, which began at *Westminster* upon the fourth of *November*, in which all acts of *Henry* the sixth formerly made (which might seem any way prejudicial to *Edwards* Title or profit) were repealed. And therein *John* Earl of *Oxford*, a learned, valiant, and wise man, he who in a former Parliament disputed the question concerning the precedency between the temporal and spiritual Barons (a bold attempt in those days, and by force of whose arguments, judgement was given for the Lords temporal) with his Son *Aubry de Vere*. Sir *Thomas Tiddinham* Knight, *William Terrill*, and *Walter Montgomery*, Esquires, were, without answer, convict of Treason, and beheaded.

This *John* Earl of *Oxford* married *Elizabeth* the Daughter and Heir of Sir *John Howard*, and had issue five Sons and three Daughters.

1. *Aubry de Vere*, beheaded with his Father.

2. *John de Vere*, that succeeded in the Earldome.

3. *George Vere*, Knight, that died, living his Father.

4. *Richard Vere*, and } Knights.

5. *Thomas Vere*,

1. *Mary*, a profest Nun at *Barking* in *Essex*.

2. *Joan*, married to Sir *William Norris*; and

3. *Elizabeth*, married to *William Bourchier*, Son and Heir of *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Essex*.

An. 1463.

R. 4.

King *Edward*, to encourage others to obtain like favour, by well deserving at his hands, after that he had created his two younger brethren, *George*, and *Richard*, the one Duke of *Clarence*, the other Duke of *Gloucester*; he maketh *John* Lord *Nevill* first Viscount, then Marquess *Montacute*.

*Henry Bourchier* (whose Brother was Archbishop of *Canterbury*) Earl of *Essex*, and *William* Lord *Fauconbridge* Earl of *Kent*, ennobling many others with dignities and honourable Titles.

To hanel their new Honours, *Essex*, and *Kent*, with the Lord *Audley*, and divers other of the Nobility, with ten thousand Souldiers are sent to scower the narrow Seas: these land in *Britain*, and by force enter the Town of *Conquet*, and the *Ile* of *Ree*, which having pillaged, and the Coasts cleared, they return.

*Henry* Duke of *Somerset*, Sir *Ralph Percy*, with some others, come in, and submit themselves to King *Edwards* mercy; who graciously receiveth and entertaineth them, protesting his propension of free pardoning them, and as many others as would follow their example of submission.

The distressed Queen with five hundred *French* (a small stake to play an after-game of Reputation with) came to the Coasts of *Scotland*, and from thence sails to *Tinmouth*, where she went on shore, but speedily resorted again to shipboard, and by tempest was beaten to *Berwick*: From whence, with the increase of some few *Scots*, leaving the Prince at *Berwick*, she, with the King her husband, marched into the Bishoprick of *Durham*, having by the way in *Northumberland* somewhat more encreased their Army. To them resorteth the so late reconciled, and now newly revolted Duke of *Somerset*, Sir *Ralph Percy*, and divers of King *Henry*s well-wishers, who altogether made shew of a competent Army. But their disorderly burning  
and

Conquet and  
Ree taken and  
pillaged by  
the Earls of  
*Essex* and  
*Kent*.

and spoiling wheresoever they went, whatsoever they could come at, lost the good-will of many, and purchased the ill-will of more.

King Edward, to be prepared to meet the Enemy at every turn, makes preparation both by Sea and Land; he sends *Vicount Montacute* into *Northumberland*, with Commission to raise forces, whom King Edward in person followeth with his whole power, leasurely, but halts some Companies after the *Vicount*, to prevent any attempt of the Bishoprick men, in case they should prove treacherous; with these the *Vicount* marcheth towards King Henry, and by the way encountereth the Lord *Hungerford*, at *Hegley-More*; but he with the Lord *Rosse* upon the first charge ran away, leaving Sir *Ralph Piercy* alone with his own Regiment, who there with them died valiantly fighting.

An. 1461.  
R. 2.  
E. 1.

Sir Ralph  
Piercy slain.

The Earl of  
Somerſet taken  
prisoner.

*Montacute* having intelligence that King Henry was encamped in *Levens* plain, near the River of *Domell* in *Hexamsbire*, marcheth thither by night, and set upon him in his Camp: The Northern men with a desperate resolution receive the charge; but were in the end, with great slaughter, overthrown, *Henry Beuford* Duke of *Somerſet*, the Lord *Ross*, *Mollins*, *Hungerford*, *Wentworth*, *Huffey*, and Sir *John Findern* Knight, with many others are taken prisoners: King Henry escaped, but very hardly.

The Duke of *Somerſet* was presently beheaded at *Exham*; he was never married, but had a natural Son, named *Charles Somerſet*, who was afterward created Earl of *Worceſter*.

The other prisoners were sent to *Newcastle*, and there beheaded. Thus was the white Rose in every place died red with the Blood of the Nobility, and the red Rose turned pale with the horror to view the calamities occasioned by this discention.

An. 1462.  
R. 3.

King Henry  
brought Pri-  
soner to the  
Tower.

King Edward came to *Durham*, and from thence sent the Earl of *Warwick* and others into *Northumberland*, to reduce such Castles and Forts as yet held out for King Henry; which effected, King Edward marched to *York*; King Henry shifting from place to place, is at length discovered, and in the manner of a notorious offender, with his legs tide under the horse belly, without other company, than Doctor *Manning* Dean of *Windſor* (taken with him) is by the Earl of *Warwick* brought to the Tower of *London*: a sudden and strange alteration of estate, when he that was the most Potent Monarch, for Dominions, that ever *England* had, was not now the Master of a Mole-hill, nor owner of his own liberty: so various are the changes and chances of this transitory life.

His distressed and disconsolate Queen, with her Son, are driven once again to flie for shelter into *France*.

King Edward, to raise some with ruine of others, distributeth the Lands and Possessions of those that held with King Henry amongst his own favourites and followers; having, the better to palliate his proceedings therein, first made Proclamation, that whosoever of the contrary faction would come in and submit, should be received to grace, and restored to their patrimonies.

King Edward having as it were a breathing from Martial employments, knowing that he was to deale with a people more easily to be drawn, than driven, addicted his courses altogether to endear himself to their good affections; and the better to settle in their minds a good opinion of his after Government, he applyed himself to accomplish those things, whereof report had given out his predecessors had been neglective in. And first he began to set the beam even, that was to carry the scale of Justice



An. FA64.  
R. 3.

Justice in equal point of right, and to that end in *Michaelmas* Term, in the second year of his Reign, three days together he sat publicly with his Judges in *Westminster-Hall*, on the Kings-bench, to acquaint himself with the orders of that Court, and the proceedings therein, and to observe what deserved reformation in that Court, either at Bench or at Bar. He likewise ordered the Officers of his Exchequer to take more moderate Fees, and to be more intentive of their duties, for the benefit of the Subject, than their own gain; and not under colour of preserving the Kings revenues, to enrich themselves, and undo the Subjects, thereby wronging both King and people. Then he complies himself to the multitude, and publickly, with such extraordinary shews of unusual congies and complements from a Sovereign, entertains them, that he thereby ties their pliable Tongues to set forth his uncessant commendation, drawing out their loves to the largest extent, he daily frequents the Council Table; which he furnished for the most part with such as were most gracious among the Citizens, and were most facile, either to give dispatch, or Court Holy Water to petitioners. These he employs about references, and businesses of private consequence, whilst mysteries of State were intimated only to such whom he selected to be of his more private Cabinet Council, with whom now he adviseth, how to encrease his forrain correspondence, and advance his estate, with some link of fair alliance with such that might stand him in stead, and be a comfort or countenance in his proceedings, as occasion should fall out. For which purpose, the fittest means is concluded to be some match to be made with *France*, by which all means of succour might be with drawn from his femal persecutor, Queen *Margarite*, and assistance drawn to persecute her Husband, and such as should oppose his Sovereignty. For the better effecting whereof, the Earl of *Warwick* is made choice of, and employed by the King into *France*, to treat of a match betwixt King *Edward*, and the Lady *Bona*, Daughter to *Lewis* Duke of *Savoy*, and Sister to the Lady *Carlote* Queen of *France*. Upon the first proposition this motion was readily embraced, and was willingly assented unto on all parts; And *Monsieur Dampmortyne* with some others, are incontinently sent into *England*, for the full accomplishment thereof: but before his arrival, the game is changed, and a new trump is turned. For upon the first of May, the King had taken to Wife the Lady *Gray*, the Widow of Sir *John Gray* of *Gröby*, slain at the last Battel of *Saint Albans*, a *LANCASTRIAN*; she was Daughter of *Richard Woodwile*, Baron of *Wynington*, and Jaquet Daughter of *Peter* of *Luxenborough* Earl of *Saint Paul*, the Widow of *John* Duke of *Bedford*, sometimes Regent of *France*, a sharer with her Daughter of troubles to ensue upon their marriage: for, as the marriage of the mother, gave the first cause of distaste to the Duke of *Burgoyne*, whose severing after from the *English*, was partly, if not principally, the overthrow of our Conquest in *France*; so this match of the Daughter first alienated the heart of *Warwick* from the King, and gave the occasion of the effusion of so much Christian Blood, and the downfal of the great *Beare* and all his ragged staves.

This marriage, at the command of Love, the Lord of Kings, was begun in heat of desire, and finished in haste, without advice of any but his own untamable affections: it much distasted the *French* King, displeased K. *Edwards* mother, and disquieted the Council and State: and, as it commonly falls out, when men ride post for such matches, in the end of their journey they take sorrow for their

The Earl of  
Warwick sent  
into France.

their Inn, and make Repentance their Host; for speedy Repentance follows precipitated haste in such affairs. But in the King's Marriage, and *Warwick's* distate thereof, appeared different effects of unbridled Passions. The fervor of the King's desires are lessened; but the fire of the Earl of *Warwick's* rage every way and every day encreased, and flamed with greater fury, until it consumed both him and his; yet for a while he covered the Coals, and concealed the cause of his Indignation; howsoever, now and then in private, to his familiars, he would complain how much he was disgraced, to be made an Instrument to set a young Lady a-gog for a husband, and then to have her disappointed. Upon his return, he carried a fair Countenance on the business, publickly approving the Kings Choice, and commending the new Queens Beauty, and natural Endowments, applauding whatsoever she said or did. But privately he only waited to displease her, and displace her Husband; wherein he was the more resolutely intente, by how much he presumed the King of *France*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, who were interested in the disgrace, and the Queen and her Sister *Bona*, who shared in the dishonourable affront, would be always, as occasion should be offered, ready to second him with power and prayers, in any thing that to that end he should attempt. To have the more liberty to plot his designs, the Earl procures live to leave the Court, and retires himself to his Castle of *Warwick*. King *Edward* in the mean time having just cause to suspect the *French*, and his discretion prompting him to be watchfully valorous, to retain his but yet borrowed Title, Wisdom admonishing him in Day of Sunshine to provide a Cloak to prevent being wet in case a Storm should fall, thought it good policy to strengthen himself by some befitting Confederation abroad; and to that end entred into a League with *John King of Arragon*, and *Henry King of Castile*, to whom he sent for a present a score of *Cotsal Ewes*, and five Rams, which though they were but few in number, yet hath the loss that hath thereby redounded to *England* been too too great, yea, more than he could then well imagine, and greater than the Reader can *prima facie* apprehend; but great evils may grow out of small causes.

To secure himself at home, he took Truce with the King of *Scots* for fifteen years; and as he had formerly married his two Sisters, *Anne* the eldest, to *Henry Holland*, Earl of *Exeter*, and *Elizabeth* to *John de la Poole Duke of Suffolk*; so now he matched *Margaret* the third Sister to *Charles Duke of Burgoyne*. This last match added Oyl and Flax to quench the flame of *Warwick's* Fury, insomuch that now he gave it vent: And having with much ado drawn to his part his two Brothers, the Archbishop of *York*, and the Marquis *Mountacute*, he now began to cast a Wind-lace to draw in the King's two Brothers. The Duke of *Gloucester* he found so reserved that he durst not close with him; but finding the Duke of *Clarence* more open, he addresseth himself to him; and taking occasion in private Conference, to complain to him of the Kings uncourteous usage of him, he said, Noble Sir, if I might be my own Judge, my more than ordinary Respect and Diligence to do the King your Brother acceptable Service, deserveth more than common courtesie; but all whatsoever I have done and do (howsoever it hath been more than could any way come to my single share) for his advantage, is ever unrespectively drenched in the Whirlpit of duty; for which I must be contented. To whom presently the Duke makes Answer, Did, or do you expect, as to a Friend, courtesie from him, that neglects the respect of Blood to a loving Brother? It is all little enough for him to provide, for to pleasure his dear

Ann. 1464.  
R. 3.

Ann. 1466.  
R. 5.



Ann. 1466.

R. 6.

Of Thomas  
Lord Scales of  
Nucels.

Loves brave kindred, and all too little he bestows on them; whilst he that lay in the same Belly with him, must attend to be served with their Leavings, or have nothing. Hath he not made a match between his wives Brother *Anthony*, and the sole daughter of the Lord *Scales*? And hath he not married *Thomas* her son with the Daughter and Heir of the Lord *Bonville*? And likewise his Minion the Lord *Hastings*, with the sole Daughter and Heir of the Lord *Hungerford*? But no such match can be thought of for me his Brother. Nay, are not his Brothers, and best friends, that have exposed our selves to all dangers, to abet his advancement, undervalued and unregarded? Have we not just occasion to be persuaded he loves us not? How then should you expect better dealings from him? The Earl finding the game coming, wanted not words to whet, nor reasons to incite to a settled distaste of his brothers unrespective carriage towards him; and prevailed, after much Communication betwixt them, so far, that what he so much desired, he effected; for he converted the natural Current of brotherly affection, which before ran in the Veins of *Clarence*, to an unnatural stream of rancor and disobedience against a Sovereign. And now, the better to knit a firm knot of Association betwixt them, a match is to be concluded upon, and the Duke is to take to wife *Isabel* the Earl of *Warwick's* daughter, and with her to have assured unto him half the lands which the Earl held in right of his wife, the Lady *Anne*, daughter of *Rich. Beauchamp*, E. of *Warwick* deceased. For the Consummation whereof, *Clarence* accompanies *Warwick* to *Calice*, where the Countess and her daughter then resided: By the way the Earl unmasked himself, and discovereth to the Duke what hitherto he had concealed of his Project for the restoring of *K. Henry*, and his Plot how to accomplish it. To which *Clarence* gave both Approbation and Promise, to aid and assist him to the Accomplishment thereof to the uttermost. This thus concluded, the Earl dispatcheth messengers to his brother, the Archbishop and Marquis, to prepare all things ready to set on foot the intended Revolt from King *Edward*, and to take hold, but cautiously, upon any ground to procure or prosecute some rebellious Commotion or other in the *North*, whilst he, and his new Son-in-law would provide to go through-stitch with the work. To a willing mind occasion will quickly be found, and the brothers entertaining the Earls advice, took hold upon this accident. The *Yorkshire* Husband-men annually by ancient custom, used to give to the poor people of *St. Leonards*, in the City of *York*, for their Alimony, certain quantities of corn and grain. A report is secretly raised, but upon what ground unknown, that this well-intended charitable contribution went not the right way; but that the givers were abused, and the poor people defrauded; the benefit of the gift going to certain officers of the house, that made a dividend thereof amongst themselves, allowing little or none at all thereof to the poor people. This rumor once on foot, spread it self far and near in the Country; the Husbandmen willing enough to take any advantage to withhold their Charity (which in that age began to wax cold, but in this is quite frozen) when the Proctors (according to the accustomed manner) came to make Collection of the charitable devotion of the people, they were sent empty away; but not without (in some places) either foul language, or some blows, and sometimes both; which occasioned retortion, and partakers are found on both parties sides; the religious, and better sort of People helping to defend the Collectors, whom with great fury the Ploughmen followed. This Spark thus appearing, is fed with combustible stuff, but underhand, by the Archbishop,

so that it took flame, and rose to a great height. Nevertheless the Marquess Mountacute, more out of policy than piety, seeming not to approve of what was done, speeds with some Forces to York, whither the unruly Multitude, to the number of fifteen thousand, drew, giving forth speeches by the way, that they would utterly demolish the Hospital, and fire the City. The Marquess (with his Power) taking advantage of the darkness of the night, and the ignorance or negligence of the watch, sallies out upon them, takes their Captain, and strikes off his Head, putting the rest, with some little loss to flight, whom he followeth no further (as not intending their further hurt) but retreated to York, which he carefully made shew to man and fortifie. The more to endear his service, he sends the news thereof post to the King, who being certified of the proceedings was well pleased with what was done; howsoever he had small reason to think himself assured of the integrity of the doer; but as yet the Actions of the Marquess, like the Countenance of Janus, carried two Faces, which his cunning yet covered. In the mean while the Rebels have rallied their dispersed Troops, and encreased their numbers: Instead of Robert Huldron their Captain, by the Marquess beheaded; they had new Conductors, Henry Son of the Lord Fitz-Hugh, and Henry Nevil, son and heir of the Lord Latimer; the one being Nephew, the other Cousin-german to Marquess Mountacute. These having received full Instructions from the Archbishop of York, joyntly take upon them the command, being assisted by Sir John Conyers, a Knight of great Courage and good Direction. By his Counsel, in regard they wanted Engines wherewith to force the Walls of York, which they had (but disorderly) beleaguered, the Rebels left the Siege, and directed their March towards London, giving out by the way (according as they were instructed by their Leaders, and their private directions) that King Edward was but a tyrannous Usurper, and that they, like good Subjects, only endeavoured the restauration of their lawful Sovereign King Henry, adding withal, that if any mischief were done to the Body of King Henry before his being restored to liberty, that they would not leave alive any of the House of York. King Edward hereupon gives order to William Lord Harbert, the new created Earl of Pembroke, to stop this Northern Storm, and to levy power to withstand their further approaching. He, both in obedience to King Edward's Command, and willing to revenge some former (as he conceived) affronts offered unto him by the Sticklers in this Commotion; Fitz-Hugh and Nevil (accompanied with his Brother Richard, and about seven thousand Welsh-men, to whom the Lord Stafford of Southwick, with some eight hundred Bow-men joyned) embraced the occasion, and willingly undertook the Charge. Sir Richard Harbert, with two thousand horsemen near Northampton, charged the Rere of the Northern men; in which was Sir John Conyers, who commanding, faces about, so entertained them, that the Welsh-men, with some loss, made more haste back, than good speed forward. Hereupon the Northern men having to that end received Letters of direction, shape their course towards Warwick; whither the Earl, with his Son-in-law Clarence were come, and had levied forces to joyn with them. The King rather sullen for anger, than amated with fear, upon the tidings of his Brothers unnatural backsliding, related unto him by his other brother Richard, stood a while silent; but having made recollection of his Spirits, he said, Brother, yet I am beholding to you, that have made a full expression both of your Love and duty, in acquainting me with the danger, and staying Loyally on my Side: But Time permits not Discourse; we must

Ann. 1466.  
R. 6.

Ann. 1469.  
R. 9.



Ann. 1466.  
R. 9.

Sir Henry Ne-  
vil slain.

prepare our selves to withstand their Fury; and to that end, take Order to second *Pembroke*: And accordingly he makes preparation. But before his Succors could come, the Northern men did reach *Warwick* upon Saint *James's Even*.

Some Distaste having been given by the Earl of *Pembroke* to the Lord *Stafford*, either for dispossessing him of his usual Inn at *Banbury*, or withholding from him some light Commodity in that Inn, which he formerly had made use of: *Stafford* with his Archers departed. Sir *Henry Nevil* having Intelligence thereof, the next morning gave a Camisadoe with some Horse to the Lord *Pembroke's* Camp, and charged so home, that (his Seconds unable to relieve him) he was enclosed with the multitude, and miserably slain; which so incensed the Northern Men, that they all gave on, and so fiercely assailed their opposites, that though for a time the *Welch* stood close, and kept order, yet when a suddain rumor was spread, that the Earl of *Warwick* was come with his Power, to charge them in the Rere, they rooted and fled.

True it was, that *John Clopton*, a retainer of the Earl of *Warwick*, having drawn together about five hundred Men, weakly armed, and worse disciplined, he brought them to the top of an Hill, in sight of both Armies, displaying thereon the *Bear and ragged Staff*, the Earl of *Warwick's* Colours, and making shew to descend, was the occasion of the *Welch* turning their Backs. In the Fight five thousand were slain, besides those that were taken Prisoners, whereof the Earl of *Pembroke*, and Sir *Richard Harbert* his Brother, who for their Valor and sound Direction that day shewed (had Success followed their Attempts) deserve to be enrolled amongst the best Commanders, with ten other, not by the Law of the Field, but by the unbounded Will of the Victors, were beheaded at *Banbury*.

This *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, married *Anne* daughter of *Walter* Lord *Ferrers of Chartley*, by whom he had Issue three Sons and six Daughters.

*William*, that succeeded him in the Earldom.

Sir *Walter Harbert* Knight; and

Sir *George Harbert*, Knight.

• *Cicely*, Baroness of *Greystock*.

*Maud*, married to *Henry Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*.

*Katharine*, married to *George* Earl of *Kent*.

*Anne*, married to the Lord *Powes*.

*Isabel*, married to Sir *Thomas Cooksey*, Knight; and

*Magaret*, married first to Viscount *Lisley*, and then to Sir *Henry Bodringham*, Knight.

The news of these proceedings set wide open the Gates of the Rebellion, and gave Courage to the *Northamptonshire* men, who, prepared before to that purpose, took this opportunity to make a Commotion; and under the Conduct of one *Hiliard*, by them stiled *Robert of Risdale*, came to *Grafton*, and there took the Queens Father, Earl *Rivers*, and his Son Sir *John Woodville*; and at *Northampton*, without Tryal or Judgment (courses out of use amongst unruly Rebels) caused them to be beheaded. *Richard Woodville*, Baron of *Wymington*, married *Jaquet*, Daughter of the Earl of *St. Pauls*, the Widow of *John Duke of Bedford*, for which, not having the King's Licence, he was fined to King *Henry* the Sixth in one thousand pounds. He was installed Knight of the Garter the 30th. of *Octob. An. Hen. 6. 28.* And 4 of *K. Edm. 4.* he was created Earl *Rivers*, and made high Constable of *England*: He had Issue by the said *Jaquet*, seven Sons, and six Daughters.

1. *Anthony* that succeeded his Father. 2. *Lewis* died young. 3. *James* died young. 4. *John* with his Father taken at *Edgcote*, and with him beheaded at *Northampton*, as afore. 5. *Lionel*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, that begat upon his Concubine *Stephen Gardner*, afterwards Bishop of *Winton*. 6. *Edward*, who died without Issue. 7. *Richard* that succeeded his Brother *Anthony* in the Earldom; but dying without Issue, left it to his Sisters, all living.

Anno  
1469.  
R. 9.

1. *Elizabeth*, at first married to Sir *John Gray* of *Graby*, and, afterward to *Edward* the Fourth.

2. *Margaret*, married to *Thomas Fitzallan*, Earl of *Arundel*.

3. *Anne*, married first to *William Bourchier*, son of *Henry* Earl of *Essex*, and after to *George Gray* Earl of *Kent*, and then to Sir *Edward Wingfield* Knight.

4. *Jaquet* was married to *John* Lord *Strange* of *Knocking*.

5. *Mary* was married to *William Harbert* Earl of *Huntington*; and

6. *Katharine*, first married to *Henry Stafford*, second Duke of *Buckingham*, and then to *Jasper* of *Hatfield*, Duke of *Bedford*. The Lord *Stafford* having long lurked without Discovery about *Devonshire*, is apprehended, and for his base departure from the Earl of *Pembroke*, beheaded at *Bridgewater*.

The Northern men have opportunity to joyn with the Earl of *Warwick*.

The whole Body of the Commonwealth thus fearfully groaning under the fearful expectation of unchristian Cruelty; the Effects whereof divers of the Nobility and Clergy endeavoured by all means possible to prevent; and to that end, on both sides mediated for some pacification. But whilst it is in Agitation, both Parts having drawn their Forces together, a general Preparation is made for an unavoidable Banquet for Death; whilst King *Edward* the less circumspect, by reason of some overture of submission, cautelously tendred, gave advantage to the Earl of *Warwick*, who had secret intelligence of the order of the King's Camp, in the dead of the Night to fall upon it, where with some small Slaughter having slain the Sentinels, they took the King Prisoner in his Bed, who was presently conveyed to *Middleham* Castle in *Yorkshire*, to be kept, safely by the Archbishop of *York*.

King Edward  
taken Prisoner.

The Earl of *Warwick*, relying upon his brother's care of his charge, considering that he was the Key of their Work; and being perswaded that the brunt of the wars was past, dismissed most of his Army: but as one that reckoned without his Host, must make a new Account, so to that Exigent he was driven: For whilst he made search and diligent enquiry after King *Henry*, whose place of Imprisonment was not known, King *Edward* escaped; but whether by over-great Promises seduced, or through Guilt of Conscience induced thereunto, it is questionable. But howsoever, the Archbishop permitted him to have so much liberty by way of recreation on hunting, that by the Contrivement and Assistance of Sir *William Stanley*, and Sir *Thomas Burgh*, he was both rescued from his Keepers, and in safety conducted to *York*. Such is the instability of Occurrences in this world, that therein is certainty of nothing but incertainty; the secrets of God's Providence being inscrutable. King *Edward*, that in the morning was a Prisoner at the Earl of *Warwick's* devotion, is now at liberty to provide how to question his mitred Keeper, and his late triumphant Committer for their undutiful Presumption.

King Edward  
escapes.

From *York* he posteth to *Lancaster*, where his Chamberlain, the Lord *Hastings*, had raised some Forces; with those he marcheth to *London*, the love of whose Citizens he mainly relied upon, and thereof found himself not deceived; for they with willing readiness receive him.



Anno  
1469.  
R. 9.

The Earl of *Warwick* having Information of what was past, makes a virtue of necessity, and dispatches Letters and Messengers to all his Friends and Confederates to draw to an head; which they accordingly did. But by the earnest Solicitation and Industry of those good Patriots, which before had laboured to have the Sword of civil Dissention sheathed, now an interview (upon interchange of Oaths for Safety and fair return on both sides) is had betwixt the King, the Duke of *Clarence*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, in *Westminster* Hall.

But the Earl, like one endeavouring to infect the Air, takes Poyson into his mouth, and spits it into the wind, makes repetition of former Courties done to *Edward*, and for requital thereof, indignities returned; which with such peremptory Phrase he urged, that they favoured so much of Exprobation, that the King, unable to endure such harsh and ill-becoming Language from a Subject, in a scornful Fury departed the Hall, and went to *Canterbury*, and the Duke and Earl to *Lincoln*, whither they had pre-appointed their Powers to repair, under the Conduct of Sir *Robert Wells*, Son and Heir of the Lord *Wells*, a valiant Gentleman, and of approved sufficiency.

An. 1470.

R. 10.  
The Lord  
*Wells*, and Sir  
*Thomas Dymock*  
beheaded.

The King, with intent to take off Sir *Robert* from *Warwick*'s part, sends for *Richard* Lord *Wells*, who with his Brother-in-law Sir *Thomas Dymock*, coming to attend the King's pleasure, received Information from some of their Friends in Court, that the King was much incensed against them; whereupon they take Sanctuary at *Westminster*; from whence, upon the King's promise of general Pardon, they came to his Presence, who gave Command to the Lord *Wells*, effectually by Letter to solicit his Son Sir *Robert Wells*, to leave the Earl of *Warwick*, and come to the King's Service; which was accordingly done; but because it procured not desired effect, the King (not without blemish to his Honor) in his Rage caused both their Heads to be struck off. The report whereof so enraged the young Knight, that no persuasion could prevail with him to abide the Earl of *Warwick*'s coming, which was every day expected; but Passion having blinded his Judgment, led on by Fury, and the Inevitableness of his Fate, he with his Forces charged the King's Army. And whilst he labored to go beyond Man in doing, (his Valour not checkt by Discretion) he proves less than a sucking Child, and so sinking under an oppressing Multitude, he was taken Prisoner; which so discouraged his men, that they fled, and the lighter to run away, they cast off their Coats; and thereby gave a name unto the place from whence they fled, which ever since hath been called *Lose-coat-field*. In this place were slain of the Earl's Part ten thousand and odd; of the King's Side thirteen hundred, but no man of mark.

Lose-coat-  
field.

Sir *Robert Wells*, with all the Prisoners then taken, were there presently executed; Sir *Robert* beheaded, the other hanged, which were threescore and seven.

The report of this Disaster turns *Clarence* and his Father-in-law to *Exeter*, from whence, having dismissed their Army, they fled to *Dartmouth*, from thence they shipped to *Calice*, having their Ladies and divers Gentlewomen in their company, intending there to go on Shore; but their expectation was frustrated: for whilst he was about to land, he was saluted with a great Shot from the Platform, which assured them there was no going on Shore there, without apparent danger; whereupon the Earl by Messenger entreated Monsieur *Vocler*, the Earls Deputy-Lieutenant there, but to give way

way to the Ladies to land (the Dutcheſs of *Clarence* being then in Trayail) which *Vocleer* uncourteouſly reſuſed, and like the Hedghog kept his Captain out of his own Lodging; not doing, or permitting to be done any the leaſt Office of Humanity; but denying the ſick and tender Ladies all Courteſie and Comfort, wherefore the Earl was enforced to put again to Sea, whiſt King *Edward*, for this ſo diſcourteous uſage of the Earl, ſent the ungrateful *Gaſcoyne* a Patent of the Captain's Place of *Calice*, under the Great Seal of *England*; and the Duke of *Burgoyne* gave him an Annuity of one hundred Pounds *per annum* during Life.

Notwithſtanding, *Warwick* being at Sea, received Intelligence from *Vocleer* (whom it ſeems did love the Earl in the ſecond place, but himſelf in the firſt) that the Duke of *Burgoyne* plotted his Deſtruction; whereupon the Earl kept the Seas, and took all the *Burgonians* he could meet, making prize of their Ladings, wherewith he landed in *France*, and from *Deep*, by the French King's ſolemn Invitation, he went to the Caſtle of *Amboyes*, where the King then kept his Court. And there the Ladies Wants are ſupplied, and honourable Welcom, and liberal Entertainment given to the Earl and all his Company.

The News of the Earl of *Warwick's* being at the French King's Court, drew thither Queen *Margaret*, and her Son *Edward*, with *Jasper* late Earl of *Pembroke*: For this *Jasper* having been attainted of Treason, *William* Lord *Harbert* was created Earl of *Pembroke*; but being ſlain, *William* his Son ſucceeded in the Earldom.

This *Jasper*, and others with him (who were lately broke out of Priſon in *England*, and fled thither) joyn in Confederation with the Earl of *Warwick*, and a ſolemn Oath paſſeth betwixt the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Oxford*, and *Jasper* of *Pembroke*, never to deſert one the other during Life, nor deſiſt, to the uttermoſt of their beſt abilities, to procure the Releaſement of King *Henry*, and his Reſtoration to the Crown of *England*; and to give the better Countenance to this Confederation, Prince *Edward* is married to the Earl of *Warwick's* Daughter. But therein the Earl of *Warwick* (ſitting in his own light) overhot himſelf, and by over-doing in Policy to ſtrengthen his part, both himſelf and Partakers are undone. The Water intended to drive the Mill, being drawn to drown the ſame; for the Duke of *Clarence*, after he had taken into his own more ſerious Conſideration the purpoſed end of this Match, he eaſily perceived, that, that being ſeconded with the intended proſecution of the wars againſt King *Edward*, would (if ſucceſſful) prove the utter overthrow of his Brothers, and the final extirpation of the Houſe of *York*. From hence aroſe, and not without juſt ground, the Duke's diſtruſt of his own Fortunes; for the prevention of which miſchief, he inwardly became leſs forward to the buſineſs, and began to caſt about how to come fairly off with his Father-in-law; propinquity of Blood proving a ſtronger incentive to affection than contracted affinity, though never ſo much combined with ſolemn Promiſes, and overt Proteſtations. From henceforth under-hand he gives perfect Intelligence to King *Edward* of all Proceedings againſt him; and withal aſſures him, that he was reſolved, upon his coming into *England*, to play the part of a loving Brother; and as he did now, in Heart, decline the Confederation, ſo he would then clean deſert their Cauſe. Herewith, when King *Edward* acquainted his Brother the Duke of *York*, he ſaid, he always thought as much; for he that at one time had turned Traytor to his Sovereign, would at another prove

Anno  
1476.  
R. 10.

*Warwick* entertained by the French King.

Viſited by Queen *Margaret*.

Joyn in Confederacy againſt King *Edward*.

Prince *Edward* married to his Daughter.



Anno  
1470.  
R. 10.

The Burgonian  
Fleet disper-  
ed.

Doctor God-  
dard's Sermon  
at Paul's  
Cross.

King Edward  
enforced to  
forsake the  
Land.

prove treacherous to his Friend; but we may (saith he) presume better hereafter of our Brother.

The French King having furnished the new Confederates with Men, Money and Ammunition, and with necessary Shipping, they all went aboard, and falling down to the mouth of the River of *Seyne*, they descried the *Burgonians* with a strong Fleet, prepared to interrupt their Sailing forth. Whereupon the Lords strike Sail, and call to Council; but during their time of such Consultation, a strong Southwest wind comes from Land, with a terrible tempest of Rain, by fury whereof the *Burgonian* Fleet was driven to Sea, and severed, many of them being driven on ground in *Scotland*. The Storm being ceased, having set the Queen and Prince, with his Wife, on Shore, *Warwick* with his Complices hoise Sail, and with a merry Gale, arrive safely at *Dartmouth*; from whence he gave notice to his Partakers of his Arrival.

King *Edward* presuming of the Strength of the *Burgonian* Fleet, and their watchfulness, had omitted Preparation, either to impeach his Adversaries landing, or to affront them being landed; by means whereof the Lords land at ease, and having a clear Passage, march forward in good array, making Proclamation in every place where they come in King *Henry's* Name, to command all his loving Subjects to be ready both with Purse and Person, to give him assistance against the Duke of *York*, who, like a Tyrant, and an Usurper, withheld from him his Crown and Patrimony; by this means in few days his Army greatly encreased; wherewith in good Order, and by easie Marches, keeping his Men always in Action, by exercising them, and fitting them to their Weapons, he made towards *London*. Upon notice of whose Approach, on the *Sunday* next after *Michaelmas* Day, one Doctor *Goddard*, a Chaplain of the Earl of *Warwick*, appointed to preach at *Pauls* Cross, did so set forth the pious intention of the Earl his Master, that endeavoured the restoring of a wronged King to his Liberty and Dominion, and to free the Kingdom from an Usurper, that his pithy perswasions prevailed so far with his Auditory, that none reproved him for his Boldness; but so approved of his Sermon, that divers put their ghostly Father's Advice in practise, insomuch that the Marquess *Mountacute*, who had (as was pretended) on King *Edward's* behalf, levied six thousand men about *London*, found them all inclineable to go with him to the Earl of *Warwick*, and accordingly went and joyned with him: so suddenly and easily will the vulgar be seduced!

This news, and the general acclamations that went through all places of King *Henry*, and a *Warwick*, caused King *Edward* to distrust his own Soldiers; and fearing the Tide would turn, his Heart failing him, in the dead of the night, only with eight hundred, of whose constancy he was assured, most of them the Lords, *Rivers*, *Hastings* and *Say's* Retinue, he posted from besides *Nottingham* towards *Lincolnshire*; but having notice, that *Warwick*, to impeach his Retreat, had sent his light Horse-men before, and followed himself with the Body of the Army, with great hazard, and loss of his Carriages (which were sunk in the Sands) he past the Washes, and came to *Lynne*, from whence, with the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Lord *Scales*, and about seven hundred men, without any change of Rayment, or other necessities, or other Victuals, but what they brought on horseback with them, or what they had left their Horses in pawn for in the Town, they set Sail, bending their course for *Holland*. The Lord Chamberlain stayed behind, as well to make

make what Provision he could for the better Accommodation of the King to carry with him, as to take order with such of their followers as were to stay behind, whom he entreated to temporize things standing as they did; (till the wind came about again, which he affirmed would be very shortly) but upon the first fair Gale that blew with King Edward to open their Sails on his behalf. Whilst he was upon this Negotiation, Fortune, that makes a Tennis-ball of the greatest, thus play'd her part with King Edward. No sooner was he past ken of Shore, but certain Easterlings, enemies both to England and France, were descried to have them in chase; so that the Mariners were driven to clap on all their Canvass, to bear up for the next Shore of Holland: the Easterlings plied after them so close, that the English durst not take Land, but where their landing might be favored by some Fort or Town; so that they were forced to fall lower than the first Coast, and came to Anchor before a Town in the Netherlands, called *Alquemare*, as near it as with conveniency they might, the Ebb being fallen too low to enter the Haven. The Easterlings, whose Ships were of greater Burden, came as near them as they durst for fear of running on ground, intending at the next Flood to lay them aboard. But in the interim the Lord *Hastings* being landed in Holland, making enquiry after King Edward; but receiving no Tidings of his being come on Shore, presently dispatcheth Couriers to all the Maritime Towns thereabouts, to give notice, that *Edward King of England* was upon the Coasts, to visit his Brother-in-law and Sister, the Duke and Dutcheß of *Burgoin*. The Lord *Gronteer*, Governor of *Alquemar*, being hereof informed, suspecting what was true, that the King of England was aboard those Ships that the Easterlings had chased in; he presently manned out a Boat unto them with this Message, That the King of England was in League with that Country, and his Subjects and Shipping should ride safe in that Harbor without impeachment of any man; and therefore commanded them in the Duke's Name, not to disturb them in their Landing, as they would run the hazard of the Cannon from the Town; by which means the King was permitted quietly to come on Shore, and was honourably entertained by the Governor, who conducted him to the *Hague*, where they stayed the coming of the Duke.

King Edward, having now almost in a miraculous manner past the Pikes in his own Kingdom, and the Perils both of Seas and Pirates, presuming that God's Providence had protected him for some good purpose, he, by the Advice of his Sister (who in all things exprest her self a dutiful Wife to her Husband, but a dear Friend to her Brother) did intimate unto the Duke, that he had now, under God, none to rely upon in this his Extremity but himself; and therefore he earnestly doth sollicite him for present Succors; which he obtaineth.

But whilst Forces are raising to secure King Edward's return out of Holland, his Queen *Elizabeth* forsaketh the Tower, and secretly taketh Sanctuary at *Westminster*, upon report of *Warwick's* approach; who made the more hasty march for London, for that he was informed, that some seditious persons about *Kent*, such as only waited opportunity to fish in troubled Waters, more out of greedy desire to gain Booty than get Glory, had plotted the pillaging of London; from which they were hardly restrained, notwithstanding the careful, resolute, and industrious Courtes of the Mayor and his Compeers.

These scatter-goods played reaks about *Lime-house*, and places adjoining, until

Ann. 1470.  
R. 10.

King Edward  
in danger of  
Pirates.

King Edward  
craveth Suc-  
cor of the  
Duke of Bur-  
goin.

Queen Eliza-  
beth raketh  
Sanctuary at  
*Westminster*.



Ann.  
1470.  
R. 10.

Rebels of Kent  
suppressed by  
Warwick. K.  
Henry set at li-  
berty.

until the Earl of *Warwick* suppressed them, and made exemplary punishment to be inflicted upon many of them, to the great content of the more sober-minded people; and much commendation from the Citizens, for his care of the Cities safety.

Execution of these Pillagers done, *Warwick* cometh to the Tower, which two days before the Mayor by a bloodless Stratagem had entred, and did now make good on the behalf of King *Henry*, who was by him removed out of his hold of durance, into his own Lodging, and there served according to his state; which the Earl of *Warwick* (as the more sensible of the two) did more congratulate than the King himself.

King *Henry* upon the sixth day of *October* accompanied with the Archbishop of *Tork*, the Prior of *St. Johns*, the Bishop of *London*, the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and other Nobles, with great Solemnity was conducted through *London* to the Bishops Palace, where he rested until the thirteenth of that month; on which day he went in solemn Procession about *Pauls Church*, (wearing his imperial Crown) the Earl of *Warwick* bearing up his train, and the Earl of *Oxford* the Sword before him; in whom it appeared, that mortality was but the stage of mutability:

The next day, as the usual adjunct of like Proceedings, in all usual places about *London*, King *Edward* was proclaim'd an Usurper, and all his partakers and abettors, Traytors to God and the King, whereof *John Lord Tiptoft*, Earl of *Worcester*, as a partaker with King *Edward*, was made the first example, and on that day beheaded on *Tower-Hill*. He had to wife *Elizabeth* Sister and heir of Sir *Walter Hopton*, Knight; by whom he had issue, *Edward* who after did succeed him in the Earldom.

The high Court of Parliament (as a cloak to cover all bracks of eruption, in the State) is assembled at *Westminster*, wherein King *Edward*, and all his known friends and followers, are attainted of high Treason, and all their lands and goods seized on to King *Henries* use. And like a Well with two buckets, whereof one came up full to be emptied, the other goes down empty to be filled; one Parliament sets up an *Edward*, and puts down *Henry*, and the next acknowledgeth *Henry*, and explodeth *Edward*.

*George Plantagenet*, Duke of *Clarence*, is by the authority of this Parliament adjudged to be heir to *Richard Duke of York* his Father; and that Dutchy was likewise settled upon him, (notwithstanding the primogeniture of *Edward*) and his heirs. The Crown of *England* was likewise entayled, for want of heirs males of the body of King *Henry*, upon Duke *George*, and his heirs for ever; so proclive was the Parliament to give consent to whatsoever by the Earl of *Warwick*, on the behalf of King *Henry* (in which web he always inter-wove some threads that might seem for the strengthening of his Son-in-laws good respect towards him) was proposed. By which means, *Clarence* was kept within the Verge hitherto of the Earl of *Warwicks* devotion.

*Jasper Earl of Pembroke*, and *John Earl of Oxford*, are fully restored to Honour and Lands.

*Clarence* and *Warwick* are made Governours of the King and Kingdom, and all things, both in Parliament, Court, and Councel, consented unto, and concluded on, as they would propose and appoint.

The Queen is sent for into *France*, but she, as if appointed not to taste any of the cup of her husbands fairer fortunes, is kept back by contrary winds,

A Parliament.

The Crown  
entayled upon  
*Clarence*.

so that during the Winter Season, against the King's Will, and her own Desires, she is kept on the other side the Sea.

*Elizabeth*, Queen to King *Edward*, is in the mean time in the Sanctuary at *Westminster*, delivered of a Son, Christened by the name of *Edward*.

Ann. 1470.

R. 10.

The Queen delivered of a Son.

*Warwick*, that nothing might seem to be left undone, that might conduce to the good of the Commonwealth, and advantageous to their Proceeding, sent divers Companies over to *Calice*, from thence to infest the Duke of *Burgoyne's* Dominions. And it is not unworthy the Observation, the peoples Levity, that whom as yesterday they had proclaimed Traytor, and despitefully traduced, that the bruit of his Return into *England* was no sooner spread, but the Earl of *Warwick's* Cognizance, the Bear, and the ragged Staff was worn in every man's Cap; yea, Monsieur *Vocleer* was contented to surrender his new Patent, and accepted of his former Deputation now confirmed, and wear the Earl's Livery, which he was pleased to vouchsafe him, notwithstanding his former uncivil and unrespective Demeanour both towards him, and the Ladies in his Company.

The Duke of *Burgoyne* being sensible of this Storm which was likely to fall upon him, both from the *French* King and the *Caliceans*, if not warily prevented, wisely so wrought with the Duke of *Clarence*, that the Truce formerly concluded betwixt him and King *Edward*, should in all things be ratified and confirmed, the Kings name only altered to *Henry*; but with this cautionary restriction, that no aid should be given to his Brother-in-law, King *Edward*: And hereof assurance by oath is given. Nevertheless, within a short time after, whether by the Duke or Dutcheffes means, it is doubtful, but by one of theirs, *Edward* was furnished with eighteen tall Ships, and two thousand *Dutchmen*, and with fifteen thousand Florens of Gold. Thus furnished, he took Land at a place called *Ravensthorpe* in *Yorkshire*; in which place he found but cold entertainment. Nevertheless, as one that had no other hope left, but that little stay he had taken hold of, he made a wary March to *Tork*, where likewise he found no great expression of welcom, so that he was enforced, most unlike himself, to make use of the Devils Sophistry, and by most execrable Oaths, to win belief the sooner amongst the Inhabitants of *Tork*, he seriously vowed, according as he had pre-published in his passage thither, That he only challenged the benefit of his Birth-right, which was the Inheritance of the Dutchy of *Tork*, unlawfully with strong hand with-held against him, utterly disclaiming any intention he had to lay any claim to the Crown of *England*, which he seemed ingeniously to acknowledge to be King *Henry's* indubitate Right. The Citizens credulity was such, that they upon these Protestations, and upon taking the Sacrament to use the Citizens fairly, and to be true Liegemen to King *Henry*, permitted him entrance, which before they utterly denied him: But he was no sooner entred, but that he gave them a sufficient taste of his Intendment, which was, not to want any thing whereof in that place he might be by any means furnished. And having well refreshed his men, and furnished himself with what men, money and victuals the City would afford him, having left a sufficient Garison to keep the City to his own use, he marched towards *London*, waging by the way all the Souldiers, that either Threats, Promises, or Money could either win or procure.

The Marquess *Mountacute*, whose Actions and Carriage were always reserved and obscure from the vulgar, yea, so disputable and doubtful amongst his

Ann. 1471.

R. 11.

King Edward is admitted into Tork.



Ann. 1471.

R. II.

his own Brothers and Allies, that none but himself could expatiate them. He now, when he had Power sufficient to do it, did not impeach King *Edward's* Passage about *Pomfret*, but suffered him to pass by him not fought with; for which he was much condemned by his Brother, and deservedly; for had *Edward* then been but a little shaken, he had died at root. Being come to *Nottingham*, divers of the Nobility came to him, making tender of their service; but with this proviso, that he would resolutely take upon him the Style and Title of King, and accordingly take his State; which he without much Contradiction was contented (his former Oath to the contrary being no scruple to his Conscience) to consent unto. And as a River running far from its first rising, is still augmented by the access of other brooks and waters falling into it, so King *Edward's* Army encreased by marching onward, to a great number.

The Earl of *Warwick* having notice of these Proceedings, leaving King *Henry* at *London*, halted towards his Town of *Warwick*; from whence he sent to the Duke of *Clarence* to advertise him of these Occurrences, desiring his speedy Access thither, where he would abide his coming. But the Duke lingered out the time, and made not that speed that was expected, and the business in hand required; which gave cause of suspicion of his tergiversation; whereupon *Warwick* with his Forces withdrew toward *Coventry*, where he strongly entrencheth and fortifieth himself; whither King *Edward* followeth him, and often provoketh him to issue forth. But he wisely, not being very confident of his Souldiers fidelity or courage (as yet untried) refused, heeping himself close within his Trenches. Whereupon King *Edward* marcheth to *Warwick*, perswading himself that that course (if any thing could) would draw the Earl to fight. But when that prevailed not, he bent his course towards the Duke of *Clarence*, who with his Forces made shew to give him Battel; but when both their Armies were in fight, the Duke of *Gloucester* so wrought between them, that they were both overtly reconciled, as they privately were before, and their Forces were conjoined. The three Brothers, now by fair Promises, and liberal Offers, assayed to win the Earl of *Warwick* to embrace fair offers of Favour and Reconciliation; but he, readier to be broken than bent, instead of embracing these proffered Courtesies, upbraided the Duke of *Clarence* with Perjury and degenerate Cowardliness, returning them Answer, That he would rather die like himself, than live, and have to do with such usurping, disloyal, and ill-conditioned base Turn coats.

The King taking notice of his head-strong Resolution, with his two Brothers, and all their Forces united, marcheth towards *London*, where, after some little shew of Resistance, the Weathercock Citizens moving like the Ears of standing Corn, all together, which way soever the Wind blew, received him with great Applause and loud Acclamations of Welcom, delivering up unto him the miserable King *Henry*, like a Ball to be bandied with the Racket of his pleasure, into what hazard he pleased.

The Earl of *Warwick* (with all his Forces) warily followed them at the Heels, but could never find opportunity, as he expected, either upon advantage to cut off their Rere, or hinder their approach to *London*. And having certain intelligence, that King *Edward* was entered *London*, and King *Henry* re-imprisoned, he encamped at *St. Albans*, as well to refresh his Souldiers, as to take Counsel what Course to take, and how to dispose of their Journey.

King

*Warwick* entrenched at *Coventry*.

King *Edward* entrenched *London*, and *Warwick* followed him.

King Edward being advertised of the Earl of *Warwick's* approach, thinking it not fit to have him to advance too near *London*, drew out his forces, and with them marched to meet his Adversary.

Ann. 1472.  
R. 11.

The resolution was equal on both parts, to set up their rests upon the hazard of that encounter; upon Easter Eve the King with his power lodged in *Barnet* town; the Earl of *Warwick* encamped upon the hill between *Saint Albons* and *Barnet*, the Camps each in sight of other.

Early on Easter day in the morning (an unfit day chosen for so unpleasing a service to God,) the souldiers on both sides are put in array; The Earl of *Warwick* appointed the command of the right wing, which consisted of horse, to his Brother the Marquess *Montacute*, and the Earl of *Oxford*: The left wing likewise consisting of horse, was led by the Duke of *Excester*; and the battel consisting of Bills and Bows, was conducted by the Duke of *Somerset*.

The Voward on the Kings part was commanded by the Duke of *Glocester*; The battel, in which was King *Henry*, was led by King *Edward* himself, and the Lord *Hastings* brought on the Rere.

There wanted on neither side befitting encouragement, to incite the souldiers to show themselves valiant, and each one to do his endeavour to conquer; the exhortations ended, the fight began, and with great valour and resolution on both sides, maintained by the space of six hours, without any disadvantage on either part appearing, until King *Edward* gave order to certain fresh troops of Rutters for that purpose reserv'd, to charge the now wearied battel of the enemy, which the Earl of *Warwick* observing, alighted from his Horse, with a desperate courage he entred amongst his Adversaries, whom his brother the Marquess *Montacute*, in hope to rescue, followed, and so were both enclosed and slain: And with their fall, fell the victory to King *Edwards* part, who being assured thereof (leaving his Brothers to Marshal the field, and to take order for the quartering the souldiers) he with King *Henry* in his company went on the spurr to *London*, and there at Evening-song in *Saint Paul's* Church offered his Banner, and the Earl of *Warwick's* Standard.

Warwick slain.

On King *Edwards* part was slain no man of extraordinary note, but the Lord *Cromwell*, Son and Heir of the Earl of *Essex*; and the Lord *Barnes*, Son and heir of the Lord *Say*.

On the other part were slain, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Marquess *Montacute*, and three and twenty Knights: On both sides fell four thousand six hundred and odd.

The bodies of the Earl of *Warwick*, and his Brother, were stripped stark naked, and put in one Coffin, and the next day brought to *London*, where in the body of *Saint Paul's* Church, they lay by the space of two days bare Visaged.

This Earl of *Warwick*, commonly stiled the Great Earl of *Warwick*, whose usual phrase was, That he had rather be able to set up, or pull down a King, than be a King; was *Richard Nevil*, Son and heir of *Richard Nevill* Earl of *Salisbury*, who married the Daughter of *Richard Beauchamp*, the sixth Earl of *Warwick*, in whose right he was Earl of *Warwick*, and in his own, Earl of *Salisbury*, and Lord *Mounthermer*; he was great Chamberlain, and Lord high admiral of *England*, Lord Warden of the North-Marches towards *Scotland*, and of the Cinque-Ports, Captain of *Callice*, and high Steward of the Dutchy of

S

Lancaster,



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R: II.

Marquess  
Montacute.

*Lancaster*: he had issue two Daughters, *Isabell*, married to *George Plantagenet Duke of Clarence*, and *Anne*, first married to *Edward*, titular Prince of *Wales*, and after to *Richard the Usurper*.

*John Nevill*, Brother to the said Earl, was first created Lord *Mountague*, after that, Earl of *Northumberland*, upon the attainder and banishment of *Henry Piercy* Earl thereof: But upon his return into *England*, and restoring in Blood, *Nevill* surrendered his grant of the Earldom of *Northumberland*, and was created Marquess *Montacute*: He Married *Isabell* Daughter and heir of Sir *Edward Inglesborne* Knight, and had issue;

*George Nevill*, created Duke of *Bedford*, but after degraded by Act of Parliament; and five Daughters, who after their Brothers decease (which dyed without issue) were co-heirs of his estate.

*Anne*, married to Sir *William Stonehurst* Knight.

*Elizabeth*, married to *Thomas* Lord *Scroop* of *Risdale*.

*Margaret*, married to Sir *John Mortimer* Knight.

*Lucy*, married to Sir *Thomas Fitz-Williams* Knight.

*Isabell*, married to Sir *William Huddleston* Knight, and all these Daughters had issue.

After these Brothers had been made a spectacle of mortality, and the subject of their spectators spight, scorn, or pity, three days in that manner, they were permitted to be carried to the Monastery of *Bissam*, and there in one grave buried amongst their Ancestors.

Queen *Margaret*, when it was too late, with some French Forces, landed at *Weymouth*, where having unwelcome tidings of these disasters, and that the Duke of *Excester* supposed slain; was strangely recovered, and had taken Sanctuary at *Westminster*, She with her Son conveyed her self to *Bewley* in *Hampshire*, where She took Sanctuary, having sent her Souldiers into *Wales* to *Jasper*, Earl of *Pembrook*, who with the Duke of *Somerset*, *Thomas Courtney* Earl of *Devon*, *John* Lord *Wenlock*, and some others, repaired thither unto her. Amongst these, it is resolved once more to bring their Forces together into the field, and hazzard one stroak more. From *Bewly* the Queen and the Earl of *Somerset* speed towards *Bristol*, intending with what powers they could raise in *Glocestershire*, to march to *Wales* to joyn with *Pembrook*, who was gone thither to make Preparation accordingly.

The King made acquainted with these overtures, resolves if possible to cross the Conjunction, and follows Queen *Margaret* with a greater Power so close, that near *Tewkesbury* in *Glocestershire*, he overtakes her forces; who resolutely turn, and make head against the Kings Power, where *Somerset* on the Queens part leading on the Van, did perform the part of a good Commander, and a stout Soldier, maintaining the fight for a long time resolutely and bravely: But when he found his Soldiers (through weariness) begin to faint, and the Kings Battel come on, and that the Lord *Wentlock* which had the conduct of the battel on the Queens part moved not; *Somerset* rode unto him, and upbraiding him with Cowardise, with his Pollax beat out his brains: But before he could bring in his men to the rescues, their Voward was routed: and *John* Earl of *Devon* (who had no issue) with three thousand and odd of the Queens part were slain.

Queen *Margaret*, *John Beauford*, the Duke of *Somersets* Brother, the Prior of *Saint Johns*, Sir *Jervis Clifton*, and divers others were taken

taken Prisoners, which all except Queen Margaret were beheaded the next day: At which time, Sir Richard Crofts presented to King Edward, Prince Edward, whom he had taken Prisoner: King Edward did at first receive him with a kind of countenance, expressing more signs of rejoycing to see a friend, than triumph of taking an enemy, and began to move familiar questions unto him, but not receiving such submissive satisfactory answers, as he required, and it may be some of riper years, upon the like occasion, would have done, he disdainfully thrust him from him, when presently the Dukes of York, and Clarence, Thomas, Marquess Dorset, and the Lord Hastings (the Kings back being but turned) with their Poniards barbarously stab'd into the breast, and inhumanly murdered, against the Law of God, Nature and Nations; which occasioned the revenge of his blood afterwards in generall upon them all, and in particular upon every one of them.

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Queen Margaret taken prisoner.

Prince Edward slaughtered.

The King having made conquest now in twenty days, of what great Warwick had done before in eleven; with Queen Margaret his prisoner, triumphantly marcheth towards London, from whence (as being assured, as long as there remained any of the partakers of King Henry at liberty, and in life, his death should be always plotting) he sent Roger Vaughan, a Potent Gentleman, and much reckoned of in his own Country, to entrap Jasper Earl of Pembroke, who had escaped with the Earl of Somerset, from the last incounter: But Pembroke having premonition of the plot, prevented the mischief, by giving Vaughan means to taste the same sauce, and strook off his head.

King Edward lingreth about Coventry, expecting news from Vaughan, but at once received notice both of Vaughans defeat, and news that Thomas Bastard Fauconbridge employed by King Henry, at the appointment of great Warwick, to scowre the narrow Seas, had irritated new sedition: And true it was, that this Fauconbridge having at Sea encountered with many that had escaped from Tewksbury Battel, and were making for France, and by them, being informed of the murder of Prince Edward, and the incarcerating of Queen Margaret, he made all fish that came to net, and robbed and spoyled all that he could come at, of amunition and able men, as well Natives as Aliens, and had perswaded many of the old Garrison souldiers of Calisee, to the number of three hundred, under the conduct of Sir George Brook, to joyn with him, and had now drawn from all parts, all such as had escaped the former encounters, or were willing to purchase booty and pillage; and now did intend to work some stratagem against King Edward, and the Kingdom: And with a well accomplished Army of seventeen thousand men came to London, and in hostile manner commanded admission into the City, and the releasement of King Henry out of prison: But was resisted and denyed by the Major and Citizens on the one side, and the Lieutenant of the Tower on the other.

King Edward upon the first news, knowing how dangerous delays are in matters of this nature, presently dispatched Marquess Dorset with some competent troops of Horse to secure London, whilst himself upon the sixteenth day of May, follows with his own power, laying all the ways to intercept any intelligence, that might be sent or received betwixt the Bastard and Pembroke.

Fauconbridge thus denyed entrance, brings up his shipping to Saint

Katharines,



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*Katherines*, and leaving in them but men sufficient to receive the booty brought, takes out the most desperate and dangerous: and with them marcheth to *Kingstone* bridge; promising his souldiers (by the way) to give them the plundering of *Westminster* for their dinners, and of the suburbs of *London* for their suppers, but *London* it self should be their breakfast in the next morning. But finding *Kingstone* bridge broken down, and all the places of passage guarded, ascertained of the Kings approach, and doubting to be enclosed, he altered his resolution, and with all his forces withdrew into *Saint Georges* field; from whence he prepared to assault the City of *London*: For the effecting whereof, he landed all his ship Ordnance, and planted them all alongst the bankside, and therewith battered down many houses, and much annoyed the City; but having some Religion in his rage, he gave order to the Cannoneers to spare Churches, and houses of Religion.

From *Saint Katherines*, by Boat he past over three thousand men, giving them directions to divide themselves, and with one moiety to assault *Algate*, and with the other *Bishopsgate*, whilst he with the residue laboured to gain entrance by *London* bridge; the houses round about which, he fired. All these places at once were desperately attempted, threescore houses being fired upon the Bridge; they followed the fire, and recovered the draw-bridge, and then he brought on his desperate Sea-men, that inured to the water, would adventure far in the fire; but by the directions of the Earl of *Essex*, who with divers Gentlemen were come in aid of the Citizens, and were there quartered with their men; they had so barricadoed up the Bridge-foot, and planted great Ordnance to scowre the entrance that way, that the forward Bastard seeing no possibility of further approach, without apparent destruction, having wit in his anger, made a fair retreat. The Marquess *Dorset* in the mean time, from the waters side had droven the Cannoneers from their Ordnance. But Captain *Spicing* at *Algate* won the Bulwark, and drove the Citizens from the Gate, entring pell-mell with them, untill the Portcullis was let fall, when those which had ventured too far, payed the price of their folly: Alderman *Basset*, and the Recorder *Urswicke*, who with a volant Regiment awaited to succour (where need should require) came to the rescue, and causing the Portcullis to be drawn up, made a brave fallly forth, and drove the Rebels back beyond *Saint Buttolphs* Church; which Earl *Rivers* Lieutenant observed well, (having all the day awaited with his men for advantage to give assistance) issued out of the Postern with five hundred well appointed Bow-men, who saluted the Rebels at their backs with such a showre of Arrows, that they all amazed fled to their ships, but were pursued, and seven hundred of them were cut off in their flight. Those that assailed *Bishopsgate*, hearing of their fellows ill success, brunk disorderly away, having first fired the City in many places; the stay to quench the rage of the fire, gave the assailants the quieter means of retreat.

The fire upon the Bridge somewhat slaked, Alderman *Josselyne*, with a Company of Citizens drawn from *Leaden-hall*, where the Corps de guard was kept, valiantly (the great Ordnance being first from the Bridge-foot discharged) fell upon the Bastards troops, and so plyed them with his shot, that they turned back and fled, whom the Alderman followed to *Rateliffe*, slaughtering all he overtook in their flight, and kept them from going on board their ships. *Fauconbridge* commanded

manded his ships to fall down to the Downs, whilst he with much labour drew together his scattered troops, and entrenched himself at *Black-heath*, comforting his company of the assurance of accession of the Welsh, whom he affirmed to be upon march, to come to their assistance; with whose aid he promised them to work wonders. But having expected their coming three days, victuals growing scarce, and hearing of the Kings approach, he dismissed his souldiers; taking as many with him as would adventure to Sea, he left the rest to try their fortunes on shoar.

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R. 11.

King *Edward*, upon the one and twentieth of May, with a great power came to *London*, where he was triumphantly received; which he as thankfully requited, giving the Order of Knighthood to the Major, Recorder, and two Aldermen, *Basset* and *Josceline*, giving them respective commendations, both for their loyalty and valours, promising, upon the Word of a King, to requite the meanest of his good Citizens loves with ample satisfaction, as soon as the Common-wealth had recovered her quiet, which he was confident now would be shortly; the clouds that had so long covered it, being almost dispersed. In the mean time the Duke of *Glocester* took an occasion to visit King *Henry* in the Tower, where observing his unmoved behaviour, either out of pity of his unbounded injury, or envy at his so settled patience; that though he had lost his Crown, his only Son, and all his assured friends, and was hopeless ever after to see his Wife; the least of which was a loss unvaluable; and now had nothing left him but a little breath, yet he seemed as though he had lost nothing: or out of piety (which may be doubted) to send him thither, where he might repair all his losses with a much overplus of happiness, *Glocester* with his Ponyard made a passage for the soul to go out of the prison of the body, and the body to be layed to sleep amongst his fore-fathers; and as it were to give the world a taste of that blood-thirsty inclination, and Cannibal condition, whereof his ensuing Tragical murders should give a more ample Testimony, and to guild his Dagger with Royal Blood, having therewith first stab'd the Son, (a hopeful young Prince) now he killed the Father, performing to him a merciful act of an unmerciful act-our.

King Henry  
murdered.

The three and twentieth day of May, being Ascension day, the Corps were conveyed by direction from the Councel, with some little shew of solemnity of Funeral rites, to *Pauls Church*, where he lay all that day with his face uncovered: But that in sight of all the people, there, or at the *Black-Friers*, whither the Body was that night conveyed, or in any other place, it bled in that quantity, or in that manner, which the report of many gave out it did, I will not affirm, only say, that true it is, the day following he was from *Black-Friers* conveyed in a Boat to *Chertsen Abbey*, without Priest or Clerk, Torch or Taper, saying or singing, and there buried. But afterwards, at the appointment of King *Edward*, was removed to *Windfor*, and there interred; and a fair Monument made over him.

Thus was he freed from this thralldom, after he had groaned under the burden of a Crown thirty eight years, six months, and odd days. He married, as afore, *Margaret*, Daughter of *Rayner*, Duke of *Anion*, by Proxie, in *Lorayne*, at the City of *Tours*, in Saint *Martins Church*, in the presence of the French King and Queen: the King was Uncle to the

Brides



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Brides Father, and the Queen, Aunt to her Mother: King *Henry* by her had issue only *Edward*, butchered as before. This *Margaret* remained Prisoner in *London* until she was ransomed by Duke *Rayner* her Father, and then departed into *France*, where she lived and died King *Henry*'s true Widow, that had been his trustful Wife.

This King *Henry* in his life time had been so truly a participant of both prosperity and adversity, that few can go beyond him in both, if any his Predecessors could parallel him in either. Being nine months old he began his Reign over *England*, being wisely, warily, and watchfully guided, guarded, and regarded by his three wise, valiant, and respective Uncles, the Dukes of *Glocester*, *Excester*, and *Bedford*, as long as their triple twisted triumvirate authority subsisted. In the eighth year of his Reign he was crowned at *Westminster*; And in the eleventh year of his Reign he was crowned King of *France*, in our Lady Church at *Paris*. Thirty years he enjoyed all the benefits of peace within *England*, without any manifest interruption; and what content a bucksome and debonary Queen could enrich him with. But in the three and thirtieth year of his Reign he was enforced to fight, after a great defeat given him at *Saint Albones*; And in the eight and thirtieth year of his Reign, his Army was defeated at *Northampton* by great *Warwick*, and there by him taken Prisoner. The year following he is by Queen *Margaret* his Wife set at liberty; but in the same year after the overthrow given him at *Mortimers Cross*, both he and his Queen were compelled to flee out of the Realm; the one to *Scotland*, the other into *France*. He is afterwards taken Prisoner at *Selby* in *Lancashire*, and brought Prisoner to the Tower; from whence he was shortly delivered and restored by him that first took him Prisoner; and last left him there (great *Warwick*) for his sake. *Edward* the fourth is compelled to fly for aid into *Holland*, and is proclaimed Tarytour, whilst *Henry* again is vested in Royalty: But the year following he is again taken Prisoner in the Bishops pallace at *London*, and sent Prisoner to the Tower; for whose releasement, whilst *Warwick* strives, both himself and Brother lose their lives at the field fought at *Barnet*; and young Prince *Edward* upon the same occasion is murdered, after the overthrow given to his Mother at *Tewksbury*, besides many of the Royal Blood, and his Noble Friends massacred and butchered in other places; yet he in both estates so demeaned himself, that he modestly carried the one, and moderately underwent the other; Passion at no time drowning his Judgement, nor Will at any time domineering over his Reason; yea, such was his deportment, that the inconstancy of his state could not alter the constancy of his mind; Inasmuch that one of his Successours, King *Henry* the seventh, laboured, for that only vertue, to have had him canonized to be a Saint, and had obtained to have had it done, had not the charges thereof so far exceeded mediocrity (for the Fees or Expences to make a King a Saint are much more than the Expences to canonize a Clergy man) which caused him to leave it undone; so that for want of one to disburse the money, King *Henry* lost a Feast day, and his name a place in the Almanack. It is most evident his integrity of life was such, that his Confessor, a grave and reverend Doctor, confidently avouched, That in ten years together, in all which time he monethly at least received his Confession, he never could gather that he had

in thought, word, or deed, committed that, that in his thought might deserve the injunction of penance.

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R. 12.

His continency was such, that before his marriage, he would permit no Woman to have any thing to do in his Chamber, nor ever would touch woman, but by way of orderly salutation, and that so seldom, that it was taken for a great grace to them so by him saluted.

At a Christmas time, a Masque of women being presented unto him, whereof some of them showed their (at this day too commonly used) naked breasts, he left the presence, crying, Fie, fie, Ladies, in sooth you are too blame to bare those parts to the eye of man, that Nature appointed modesty to conceal.

He was so far from Vindicative disposition of injuries, or affronts offered to his Person, that he would give thanks to God, that did so permit men to punish his transgressions in this life, that so he might escape the punishment for them hereafter.

He was so watchful over his words, that he was never heard to swear oath; his greatest and most earnest asseveration being for the most part, forsooth, forsooth, or verily, verily.

He was so far from Covetousness, that when the Executors of his Uncle (stiled the rich Bishop of *Winchester*) made offer unto him of two thousand pounds of free gift, he refused it, wishing them to take care of orderly performance of their duty in duly accomplishing the Testatours Will, and not to consume the estate left them for better uses, in bribery, or unnecessary donations.

He was so religiously affected, that he duly observed his Canonical obedience to the strictest injunction of the Church; and at times of fast (thereby commanded) he not only observed the abstinence prescribed, but used other uninjoyned means of mortification, by wearing hair shirts next his skin, and tying himself to that austeritv of life, and strictness of discipline, that the strictest and most religious penitentiary could do no more.

He was so inclinable to Pity, that when he spied the quarter of a Tray-tour set over one of the gates of *London* upon a pole, he caused the same instantly to be taken down and buried, saying, I will not have such cruelty executed against a Christian after death for my sake; it is enough, if not too much, that he received the punishment of death for his offence.

His Patience was such, that to one that struck him when he was taken prisoner, he only said, forsooth, you wrong your self more than me, to strike the Lords anointed.

To another, that, when he was in prison, had drawn blood of him with a weapon; when after he was at liberty, and the party that had given him the wound was brought before him, he freely pardoned him, saying, Alas, poor soul, he strook me more to win favour with others, than any ill-will he bare me: of that happy memory, that he never forgot any thing but injury. Lastly, his courage in a good cause appeared in this, that being a little before his death in a peremptory manner demanded by the Duke of *Gloesster*, why he had held the Crown so long unjustly from the rightful Heir, boldly thus answered, My Father was crowned King of *England*, and quietly, without contradiction, enjoyed the same, as my Grandfather, his Father, had held the same before him: and I but a child was proclaimed undubitate Heir thereto, and

was



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was accordingly sacred and crowned King without interruption; first of *England*, and afterwards of *France*; all men to me, as to my Ancestors, swearing and doing fealty and homage; and so I have held *England* well-nigh thirty nine years: And therefore I may say with the holy King and Prophet *David*, *My lot is fallen in a fair ground; yea, I have a goodly heritage, my help is in the Lord, which will save the upright in heart.*

His pious intention for provision for competent maintenance for Prophets and Prophets children, appeareth by his testamentary appointment for the building and endowing Kings Colledge in *Cambridge*, and *Eaton* Colledge by *Windfor*; and other like Donations appointed by his last Will.

King *Edward*, presently after the interment of King *Henry*, draws his forces toward *Sandwich* in *Kent*, where some of the followers of *Fauconbridge*, to the number of eight or nine hundred, had in the Castle thereof strongly fortified themselves; who, upon notice of the Kings approach in Person, sent Sir *George Brooks* unto him with this Message; That if he would vouchsafe them (which they humbly desired) his gracious Pardon, so as they might be assured to have their lives, limbs, and liberty saved, they would surrender into his hands the Castle, with the shipping, and all things therein, and submit themselves in all obedience to his command, and swear (which hitherto they never had done) from thenceforth for ever to continue his faithful, loyal and obedient subjects. But if this mercy were denied them they were resolute to fight it out to the last man, fire the shipping, and sell their lives at the dearest rate; neither were they so destitute of promised assistance, that they had any just cause to despair of their relievement, if they should abide the hazzard (being sufficiently victualled to hold out for six moneths) of being besieged.

The Council having thoroughly debated of the proposition, by the Kings appointment, and by the instigation of the Duke of *Glocester*, they advised the King to attonement with them, and he accordingly granted their request; and marching to *Canterbury*, there sealed, and from thence sent by the Duke of *Glocester* (who now began to affect popularity, and endear himself to souldiers) their general Pardon; who bringing it unto them, forgot not to acquaint them with what difficulty he had obtained the same at the Kings hands.

Upon the receipt thereof, both Castle and ships, to the number of thirteen, are delivered up to the Duke for the Kings use. But how this composition was observed, may be imagined, when *Fauconbridge* (who was comprised in the same Pardon) was afterwards taken and executed at *Southampton*; And *Spicing* and *Quintine*, the Captains that assailed *Algate*, and *Bishopsgate* at *London*, and were Commanders, and in *Sandwich* Castle at the surrender thereof, were presently beheaded at *Canterbury*, and their heads sent to be placed on poles on those gates at *London* they had severally assaulted; And by a commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, divers, both in *Essex* and *Kent*, were arraigned and condemned for this rebellion; but more for that put to fine and ransom, than death; to the great impoverishing of the Yeomen of *Kent*, and undoing the Gentlemen of *Essex*.

The King upon Whitfun-eve returneth to *London*, where (advised there-to by his Council) he sent great *Warwicks* Brother, the Archbishop of *York*, to be kept prisoner in the Castle of *Guisnes*; and the Earl of *Oxford*, (who had submitted himself upon pardon of life only) to the Castle of *Hames*; and layed all the Ports for the stopping of the Earl of *Pembrooks*

going

going out of *England*, which he nevertheless afterwards did with the young Earl of *Richmond*.

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R. 12.

King *Edward*, much displeased with the escape of the Earl of *Pembroke*, but more of that of *Richmond* (by how much the one could but abet, the other might lay claim) sent his Letters over to the Duke of *Britain*, whither those two Earls had found means to convey themselves, and were in *Brittany* by him kindly entertained; intimating therein his earnest desire, either to have them sent over to him, or at least watchfully kept from attempting any thing (which he had just cause to suspect they would) to his prejudice, by their being at liberty; with many promises of thankful respect, for this courtesie if granted, and for an earnest thereof, sent him a token worthy the receiving, which so prevailed with the Duke, that the two Earls were debarred each others company, and all their English attendants taken from them, and *Britons* appointed in their places which somewhat satisfied the King of *England*, but gave no content to the English Gentlemen in *France*.

A Parliament is called at *Westminster*, wherein all acts formerly made by him, are confirmed. And those that King *Henry* after his redemption of the Crown had abrogated, were revived: And an Ordinance made for the confiscation of all their lands and goods, that had taken part against him, and were fled; with a restauration of all such as for his part had been attainted both to blood and patrimony.

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R. 13.

Towards his charges, in this Parliament, a competent sum of money is voluntarily given, and in respect thereof a general pardon is granted.

The Duke of *Burgoin*, willing that his courtesies formerly done to his brother-in-law should be thought upon, and willing to ingulph him in the wars of *France*, that he in the mean time might have the better opportunity to work some malicious stratagem against the French King; sends over Embassadors, with ample instructions, to sollicite the King of *England* to set on foot his title to the Crown of *France*, making great offers with potestations, to aid and assist him therein both with purse and person.

The Embassadors have audience, and after much debating the point amongst the Privy Council, it was thus amongst them concluded.

1. That the Crown of *France* was not ambitiously affected; but the title thereof legally challenged as the unquestionable right of the now King of *England*.

2. That the French wars (if orderly pursued) always enriched English Souldiers.

3. That *France* being made the seat of the war, it would keep them from making invasion on *England*, and hinder them from supporting any against the King of *England*.

4. That the French King had in an unsufferable fashion given an affront to the King of *England*, in aiding and abetting Queen *Margaret*, and her traitorous complices, against him, and prohibiting any his true subjects to reside within his territories, and in continually sending combustible stuff to feed the fire of rebellion, which had so disquieted the Commonwealth of *England*.

5. That the King of *France* infested the Duke of *Burgoin*'s Countries with wars, who was a Friend and Colleague with the King of *England*, and one that was in league with him, both offensive and defensive.

Therefore this proposition from the Duke of *Burgoin*, to undertake the

wars



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Wars against *France*, was to be approved of, as being both lawfull and behooffull for the honour of the King, and the good of the Kingdom.

But the means how to pursue the war being once under-taken, was another cause considerable. For treasure (the sinews of war) was wanting, and to procure a supply by Parliamentary courses, would take up too much time. They were therefore driven to find out and set on foot a project, till then unheard of, which was to draw by way of benevolence from the subject, a seeming voluntary (howsoever often very unwillingly payed) contribution; thereby to supply the want of money for the pursuance of these wars.

To this end, divers Commissioners are assigned, with letters to the Knights and Gentlemen, and several instructions are sent into every County; who did therein so effectually comply themselves to do the King service, that by their persuasions, most men of ability did enlarge their contributions to this so fair an enterprise, and readily departed with their money. And a Kings kiss to a sparing and therefore a rich Widdow, amongst many others drawn in by Court holy water to make oblation, brought in twenty pounds more than was demanded, for that being but twenty, she gave forty.

It is almost a matter of admiration in these days, how in those days, the King could out of this little Island, be furnished with able men for his wars; old men, women, and children, with sufficient meat to put in their mouths; the Clergy, and Scholars with competent maintenance; and the Markers with necessary provision; considering the infinite number of those in the late Civil broyls slaughtered, the paucity of Ploughmen and Husbandmen, the want of Farmers, and the indigency of Cattel wherewith to stock their Farms, infinite quantities of ground lying unmanur'd, or tilled, and the Pastures and Downs without Sheep or Cattel; the general spoyle and wastment, which the Souldiers, wheresoever they came, (and that was almost every where) in this Kingdom made, and the general ceasing and neglect of commerce or traffick, the shipping not daring to stir abroad, the danger being so great to be robbed and spoyled either by home-bred Pyrats, or foreign foes; yet, such was Gods great mercies, that every one of these respectively were supplied, and did subsist without any notable defect, or extraordinary want.

A Kings kiss to  
a rich Widdow  
procured 40. l.  
where but 20.  
l. was expected.

Ann. 1473.  
R. 14.  
The Duke of  
Excester found  
dead.

*Henry Holland*, Duke of *Excester*, and Earl of *Huntington*, disinherited by Act of Parliament, with *Henry* Duke of *Somerfet*, and *Thomas* Earl of *Devonshire*, in the fourth year of King *Edward* the fourth, was this year found dead, stript naked betwixt *Dover* and *Callice*: but how he came by his death, no inquiry could bring to light: He married *Anne* daughter of *Richard* Duke of *York*, and sister to *Edward* the fourth, but had no issue by her: she was after married to *Sir Thomas Saytileger* and had issue by him a daughter married to *George Manners* Lord *Rosse* of *Hamlack*.

Provision for this French expedition of all things necessary, being thoroughly made, and order taken for the quiet government of the Kingdom in his absence, and the stop of incursions, if any should by the *Scots* be made; King *Edward* with an Army of fifteen hundred men at Arms, and all of the Nobility and Gentry, gallantly mounted, and well attended with fifteen thousand Archers on horse-back, eight thousand common souldiers (whereof five thousand were sent to *Brittain*) and three thousand Pioners to attend the Ordnance and guard the Carriage, came down to *Dover*, whither the Duke of *Burgoyne* had sent five hundred skues or flat bottom'd boats to transport

transport the horse to *Callice*: yet notwithstanding that help, it was above two and twenty days before the Kings forces were all past over to *Callice*. Before the Kings departure from *Dover*, because he would witness to the World his fair and legal Proceeding, he sent an Herald named *Gorter*, a *Norman* by birth, with a letter of defiance, in fair and fitting termes, requiring the *French* King to yield unto him the Crown of *France*, his unquestionable inheritance, by the *French* King unjustly detained from him; which if he should dare to deny, that then he was to expect from *England*, but what the extremity of the Sword, and the calamities of War could bring upon him and his Countrey. This letter the French King read, and withdrawing himself, caused the Herald to be brought to his presence, to whom in privat he gave this answer: That the Duke of *Burgoine* and the Constable (by whose trayterous instigation, and not of his own inclination, he knew the King of *England* intended to visit *France*) would but delude him, for they were dissemblers and impostors: And therefore said, it would conduce more to the honor and content of the King of *England*, to continue in league with me, though an old adversary, than to hazzard the fortune of the Wars. upon the promised assistance, of newcome deceivers, such as those two will prove. And so commend me to the King thy Master, and say, what I have told thee. And so with an \* honorable reward dismissed the Herald, who returned to the King of *England* to *Callice*; and there returned to the French Kings answer.

This advice, though from an Enemy, if followed, had saved the King of *England*, a great deal of money: For the Duke of *Burgoin*, notwithstanding his promise in the word of a Prince not to fail, was not at the time and place appointed, ready with his forces, which should have been by pact and promise, two thousand Lanceers, and four thousand Stradiots or light horses. Whereupon, the Lord *Scales* is by the King of *England*, sent to the Duke to put him in mind of his promise, and to hasten his coming with his promised forces. But the journey was to little purpose, only it occasioned the Duke with a small Troop of Horse, to come unto the King of *England*, formally to excuse himself, for being so backward; in that he having with his forces been imbroyled in the siege of *Nantis*, could not depart thence without infinite disgrace, if neither composition or submission were enforced; which now notwithstanding, because he would not too much trespass upon his Brother-in-laws patience, to have longer expected his coming, he was by the obstinacy of the besieged enforced to do. But promised to supply all defects, both with his presence and power, and that speedily.

The Constable likewise by letters, persuades the King of *England* to proceed in the action, and not to doubt from the Duke and himself, but to be sufficiently accomodated every way, and seconded.

King *Edward* thus encouraged, marcheth on: but in his way found no performance of promises, either on the Dukes or Constables part. For the first did not at their coming to *Peroone* accomodate the souldiers with victual or lodging, in that manner as was requisite and expected. And the other in stead of surrendring up of *S. Quintains*, according to the agreement, made a sally out upon such as were sent from the King of *England* to receive the same, playing upon them with their great Ordnance. Whereupon King *Edward* comparing the last days words with this days actions, began to suspect the truth of the Kings description of the Duke and Constables condition;

Ann. 1474  
R. 14.

K. Edward  
writes to the  
French King.

\* Three hundred Crowns  
in Gold and  
and thirty  
yards of red  
Velvet.

The Duke of  
*Burgoin* excu-  
seth his breach  
of promise.

The Constable  
repromiseth  
aid.



Ann. 1474.  
R. 14.

Burgoine de-  
parteth, pro-  
mising speedy  
return.

The policy of  
the French  
King.

King Edward  
sends an He-  
rald of arms to  
Lewis.

\* S. Leeger.

condition, and from thence forward stood upon his own guard, and gave no further credence to any of their Protestations, which the Duke of *Burgoine* resenting, pretending earnest occasions for the hastning forward of his forces, and promising speedy return with them, taketh his leave and departeth, wherewith the English are displeased, and King *Edward* not a little disquieted.

The French King having intelligence of the Dukes departure, forecasting the worst, suspecteth that the Duke was (with an intent to return) gone to bring on his power, well knowing that if they should unite their forces, his Crown was in great hazzard to be pluckt from him. Nevertheless, he thought that Winter being so near, they could not well keep the field; howsoever, being his crafts Master, and politick enough to work his own ends, which he seldom failed in, he resolved with himself to assay what might be done to mediate a peace with the English in *Burgoins* absence; and yet so to retreat, that if it took not effect, he might disclaim the knowledge of the overturn: He therefore privately dispatched a Messenger in show of an Herhought, indeed he was a fellow neither of Office or Estimation; and not known to any of the Kings household, but to *Villeers* the Master of the Horse, who only was acquainted with the plot and party. This counterfeit Purservant at arms, with a Coat made of a Trumpets Banner roul, addressed himself to the King of *England*, and upon admission to his presence, insinuates the French Kings desire; which was to have Commissioners on both parts conigned to confer of the means to reconcile the differences betwixt the two Kings; at least-wise to conclude the cessation from Wars, for some time; and so well this messenger delivered his errand, that it was credited, and his request granted; and with a reward and a letter of safe conduct, for such as should be employed from the French King in this business, is returned: an Herhaught likewise from King *Edward*, is sent to King *Lewis*, for the like letter of safe Conduct to be sent for those, that from the English Camp, should be employed in this Negotiation, which is accordingly granted; and at a Village near *Amiens* the Commissioners meet.

For King *Edward*, appear the Lord *Howard*, Sir *Anthony* \* *Chalenger*, and Doctor *Morton*, after made Lord Chancellor of *England*.

For King *Lewis*, came the Admiral of *France*, the Lord *S. Peirs* and *Heberg* Bishop of *Eureux*.

After long conference, the Articles of peace were concluded on, to this effect.

1 The French King was to pay presently to the King of *England*, three-score and fifteen thousand Crowns: And from thence forth annually pay, fifty thousand Crowns during the life of King *Edward*.

2 That within one year, the French King should send for the Princess *Elizabeth* the King of *Englands* Daughter, and joyn her in marriage to the *Dolphin*: And for their maintenance for nine years, the French King agreed to allow them fifty thousand Crowns per annum: and that time expired, they should peaceably be invested in the possession of the Dutchy of *Guyen*, for the better supportation of their estate.

3. That the Lord *Howard*, and Sir *John Cheney*, Master of the horse, should remain in Hostage there, until the Army had altogether quitted *France*, and were returned into *England*, and a general peace for nine years, wherein *Burgoine* and *Britaine* are included, if they will accept thereof. The

way

way made the easier for the compassing this so profitable a conclusion, by *Lewis* his offering to every Saint a Candle; for he distributeth sixteen thousand Crowns amongst King *Edwards* Councillors and favorites, two thousand Crowns to *Hastings* the Kings Chamberlain, and to the Lord *Howard*, Sir *John Cheney*, Sir *Arthur Challenger* or *Sellinger*, and *Mountgomery*, the residue, besides great store of Plate and Jewels, distributed amongst inferior Officers of the Court.

The motives that induced King *Edward* the sooner to condescend to this accord, were :

1. The vacillation and instability of the Duke of *Burgoyne*, and the Constable, they never performing any the agreements really concluded on.
2. The extremity of winter approaching, the present want of fodder, and the not having any strong place or Fort, to shelter the souldiers in.
3. The impossibility of raising any more great forces for relief, if necessity should require to be seconded, the late Civil wars having almost eaten out the most and best souldiers in *England*.

4. The emptiness of the Treasury, and all ways of supply being taken off. The Duke of *Glocester* only, whose brains were busie at work, about great designs, the easie compassing whereof, he deemed impossible, in case the wars with *France* were not pursued, opposed this accord, nevertheless, it proceeded, and notice thereof is presently sent to the Duke of *Burgoyne*, who thereupon only with fifteen hundred horse, posts to the *English* Camp. At his first arrival, he discovers his inward passion by his outward countenance. But he came too late to prevent what was done. King *Edward* persuades him to enter into the peace according to the reservation. But *Charles* reproacheth King *Edward* for entering into such a truce, saying, that King *Edwards* predecessors had with their Armies performed many brave and notable exploits upon the *French*, and purchased thereby fame and reputation, and that he had brought his souldiers but to shew them the Countrey, and return as they came; adding therewithal, that to make it appear to the world, that he was able without the help of the *English*, to subsist of himself, he disclaimed any benefit by that truce, or any other reconciliation with the *French*, until three months after the *English* had remained in their own Countrey. But when King *Edward* not well pleased with this *French* bravado, retorted unto him the base and forgetful neglect, both on the Constables part, and his, of not being their words Masters; The Duke in a great snuff returns to *Luxenburg* from whence he came.

For the better confirmation of what was agreed upon, and settling of amity betwixt the two Kings, an interview is desired; but before the same is effectuated, the *French* King sends unto the *English* Army, an hundred Tun of *Gascogne* Wine, to be drunk out amongst the private souldiers, and therewith free licence at pleasure for Commanders and Gentlemen of rank and quality, to recreate themselves in *Amiens*, where they were freely and fairly entertained by the Burgers at the Kings express commandment. The Commanders in chief at their return, were well rewarded with jewels and plate, for their fair deportment, and the orderly carriage of their souldiers during the abode there; and not without good cause, for had not their behaviour been the better, the number of those that were there, had been sufficient to have done much mischief, or made themselves Masters of the Town. A place of interview of these two Kings is agreed on, and against the time appointed, all things are orderly prepared and readily fitted at the charge

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R. 14.

*Burgoyne* comes to the *English* Camp.

Returns displeased.

The *French* King liberally rewardeth the good carriage of the *English*.

The manner of the interview of the two Kings.



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R. 14.

of the French King by the English Carpenters; four of the Bed-Chamber on both sides are appointed to search the contrary end of the Room, to prevent traps or instruments of treachery, lest any thing might be plotted or practised to the prejudice of their Masters. They return, certifying *Omnia bene*, the Kings advance themselves; King *Edward* being come in sight of the place, maketh a stand, as being told, the omission of any circumstance, in point of honour, might reflect upon not wisely forecasting all passages of state, and knowing to attend the first offer of the ceremony, would much take off from the dignity of his state; which although King *Lewis* perhaps did apprehend, yet he would not stand to straining of courtesy, and fearing to lose the fair opportunity, to give two blows with one stone, (free himself from their presence whose breath was too hot for his company, and weaken thereby the arm of an overweening neighbour,) he gave the King of *England* the advantage to come at his pleasure, whilst he came first to the barr appointed for conference, and there did attend King *Edward's* leisure; he had in his company *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, with his Brother the Cardinal, and was attended with eight hundred men at arms. King *Edward* comes with his brother the Duke of *Gloucester*, (*Glocester* wanting moderation with patience to admit a Court complement, in the sight of an Army with a French man, excused his not coming) the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lords Chamberlain and Chancellor, and at his back his whole Army in battel array. The Kings lovingly embrace each other, and Court cringes and complements of courtesie reciprocally pass; which finished, they with their Nobles then present, all take their oaths upon the holy Evangelists, in all things *pro posse*, to observe the Articles of accord concluded on, as afore. Then all were commanded to withdraw themselves, whilst the two Kings fall into private conference, concerning the Dukes of *Burgoyne* and *Britany*. *Lewis* leaves not a string untoucht, that might make musick for his profit. And having felt the King of *England's* pulse not to beat over strongly on behalf of his brother-in-law, and that on his part he desired but respite, until he might receive answer of a message he would send to the Duke, and that if he refused to accept of the benefit of the accord, he would leave him to the French Kings pleasure; he leaves further speech of him, and earnestly importunes that *Britany* might be left out of their Articles, which King *Edward* utterly denies, affirming that he had found the Duke an open-hearted and open-handed friend to him in his extremity, and therefore would not now leave him unregarded. *Lewis* observing *Edward's* countenance in delivery of those words, thought it no policy to strain that string any higher, but with all courtesie takes his leave, giving many kind words, and some tokens of favour to some Noblemen, and all the officers, and so departeth; yet after he was gone, not throughly digesting the King of *England's* defence of the Duke of *Britany*, he makes a second motion unto him to the former purpose by letter; from whom he received this resolute answer, That if the French King desired the friendship of *England*, he should not molest the Duke of *Britany*, for he was resolved in person to come at any time for his defence, if the Duke of *Britany* were disturbed: whereupon King *Lewis* rested satisfied, though not contented; whilst King *Edward* foreflowed no time to acquaint the Duke of *Britany* with all the passages; some think that had not the desire of compassing the Earl of *Richmond* and *Pembroke*, now in the Duke of *Britany's* Countreys, been a better motive than any respect unto the Duke; the French King might have had better success in his requests: King *Edward* to give

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R. 14.

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Some forbear not to say, that King *Edward* lost more honour in this voyage, than he had purchased in nine victories before gotten; but they were such as measure Kings actions by the crooked level of their own erroneous fancies. But those of better understanding affirm, that it had been a great error in judgment for the King to be longer absent from his so late conquered Kingdom; but great wisdom and policy in him, to take hold upon such an occasion to come off so fairly with a match for his daughter; which had it taken effect, had sufficiently recompenced his charge and trouble. But private men must not dispute the actions of Princes. And further to examine the reason of what in this kind at this time was done, might give occasion of discourse, but not instruction. King *Edward* being returned into *England*, not unmindful that a great storm might follow, though but a small cloud as yet appeared, dispatched Embassadors to the Duke of *Britain*, to persuade with him to have the young Earl of *Richmond* sent over unto him; for that he desired to match him in marriage with the Lady *Cecily* his younger daughter; this fair overture of marriage, or rather the feeling mediation of angels (whereof some store were sent, but more promised) so prevailed with the Duke, that upon the receipt of the sum sent, the Earl of *Richmond* is delivered to the Embassadors, who thence conducted him to *St. Malos*; where whilst they stayed for a wind, by the cunning advice and plotting of the Dukes Treasurer, (who, as it may be by the sequel gathered, not well pleased not to have been treated withal, according to that Court-custum, with a feeling respect; more than ordinary proportion, or common gratuity, being inseparably incident to his treasurers place, he more for scorn to be so neglected, than love to *Richmond*) so plots, that the young Earl escapes into Sanctuary, from whence nor promises nor prayers could procure him. Nevertheless, upon *Peter Londons* his promise, he should be safely kept there, the Embassadors without their merchandize or money departed, to the no little discontent of the King, who grieved much that the lamb had escaped his woolvish intention. But being taught the rule, what he could not avoid, he made shew to receive willingly; he for that time said little.

Ann. 1475.  
R. 15.

King *Edward* attempteth by a colourable pretence to procure *Richmonds* person to be delivered to him. Delivered to the Embassadors.

Escapeth into Sanctuary.

At Christmas following, he created his eldest Son *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*; his second son, Duke of *York*; giving the order of Knighthood to the son and heir of the Earl of *Lincoln*, and many others. He created four and twenty Knights of the Bath, upon the creation of the Prince of *Wales*, whereof *Bryan* chief Justice, and *Littleton* a Judge of the common Pleas, were two. Thus whilst King *Edward* in *England*



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Ann. 1475.  
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lived in peace and quiet, the turbulent Duke of *Burgoyne*, never constant, but always in contention, reaped the triple fruit thereof this year at three several times. The first at *Ganson*, where he lost some honour, but more wealth. The second, at *Morat*, where he lost more honour and many men. The last at *Nancy*, where he not only lost men, money, and reputation, but life also by the *Switzers*, whom he had driven to a desperate resolution, and then not in hope to escape, but to sell their lives (when submission would not be accepted) at the dearest rate, they fought and prevailed.

Ann. 1477.  
R. 17.

Now begins *Richard* Duke of *York*, to set on foot his until then close contrived devilish devises, to compass the attainment of the crown of *England*, and for the first scene of the ensuing tragedy, to facilitate his passage, he secretly begins to withdraw the Kings affection from his brother *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and to that purpose susurreth unto him, that some of *Clarence* his followers were Sorcerers and Negromancers, and that they had given forth speeches, that one whose christen name began with the letter *G.* should disinherit his children, and carry the crown of *England*; and to put some varnish upon this suggestion, one of the Duke of *Clarence* his servants, which came with him out of *Ireland* from *Dublin*, where the Duke was born, is in his Masters absence (he being then in the Countrey) by the procurement underhand of *Glocester*, indicted, arraigned, condemned, and executed at *Tyborn* for conjuration, and all within the space of two days; hereof the Duke of *Clarence*, being thereto irritated by his brother *Glocester*, grievously complains to King *Edward*, who instead of giving redress (suspecting now the truth of the Duke of *Glocesters* buzz) took an occasion likewise by *Glocesters* advice (howsoever he made a glozing shew to *Clarence*, of being jealous of his honour, and disliking of the Kings disrespect, as he termed it, of his brothers abuse) to frame a colour to commit *Clarence* to the Tower, where his loving Brother *Richard* (not as it was feared without the Kings privy) took that order that he should not (for so he faithfully promised him upon his first commitment) lie long in prison, before he would procure his release, that he was drowned in a Butt of Malmsey, and then laid in his bed, to perswade the people that he dyed of discontent.

Clarence  
drowned.

This *George* Duke of *Clarence*, was Earl of *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, Lord of *Richmond*, and great Chamberlain of *England*; he married *Isabell*, daughter and co-heir of *Richard Nevil*, the great Earl of *Warwick*, by whom he had issue, *Edward*, afterwards Earl of *Warwick*, who dyed without issue, and *Margaret*, married to Sir *Richard Pole*, Knight, who had issue, *Henry* Lord *Mountayne*, and *Reginald Pole*, Cardinal.

The Pestilence about this time, raged with that fury in most parts of this Kingdom, that the sword in fifteen years before, devoured not so many as that did in four months.

Ann. 1480.  
R. 20.

The King upon some present occasion, sent to the Citizens of *London* a privy seal, for the loan of five thousand marks for a year, which were presently provided, and at the time prefixed as orderly repayed, which with the Royal entertainment he gave them (upon invitation at *Windsor*) and the store of Venison sent by him with them, to make merry with their wives at home, so won the hearts and affections of the *Londoners*, both male and female, that from thenceforth no pleasure was denied that they could procure him. The *Scots* make an inrode into *Northumberland*; against whom the Duke of *Glocester* was sent with some power, but they were retreated before his coming.

James

Ann. 1482.  
R. 22.

James King of Scotland, shortly afterward sent Embassadors to treat of a marriage between his eldest son James Duke of Rothsay, and Cecily the Kings second daughter. This overture for a match was by King Edward and his Council embraced, and divers great sums of money, as part of her portion, were delivered to the Scots, but with this proviso, that if the marriage did not take effect, that the Provost and Merchants of *Edenburgh*, should be bound to repay the same. This James King of Scotland, was too much wedded to his own opinion, and could not endure any mans advice, (how good soever it were) that he fancied not; he would seldom ask counsel, but never follow any, by reason whereof, such of his Council, as more respected the honour of the Kingdom, and the publick good, than what should be pleasing to his private conceits or peculiar fancy, did divers times reap exilement, and ill will, for truth speaking, and well meaning; so that the way to win his favour, could not be found out or followed, but by flattery, whereby few or none but Thraconical Parasites, and Camellion time-pleasers would follow the Court, or continue their places therein. Hence came it that many ignoble affronts were offered to the King of England, and more disrespectts done to his own Nobility. Insomuch, that his brother, the Duke of Albany, was enforced to abandon the Countrey, and to fly for refuge into England, where he was by King Edward respectively entertained. From him was the King of England truly informed of the weak disposition of King James, wherewith King Edward was so much incensed, that he made speedy preparation of a competent Army, which being sufficiently accommodated with all necessaries for the field, under the conduct of Richard Duke of Gloucester, accompanied with the Duke of Albany, they marched towards Scotland. The Duke in the way took in *Berwick*, and besieged the Castle, which was resolutely defended by the Earl *Bothwell*. The Duke perceiving no good to be done against the Castle, but by famishing them, having sufficiently taken course to secure the town from sallies, leaving the Lord Stanley behind to continue the siege, he with the residue of the Army marched toward *Edenborough*, where within the Castle of *Maydens*, the King of Scotland had immur'd himself.

The Nobility of Scotland, observing the miserable spoil that the English Army did, and the impossibility to prevent it by opposition, endeavoured by humble submission to procure a peace, at least a cessation from wars, which with much importunity they obtained at the hands of the General, under these Conditions.

1. That full satisfaction should be presently given to the English, for all damages and wrongs done by the late incursions.
2. That the Duke of Albany (whose friendship the General laboured to be made firm unto him) should be fully restored to grace, place, and whatsoever had been taken or withheld from him, by the King his Brother, and an abolition of all former discontents betwixt them.
3. That the Castle of *Barwick* should immediately be surrendred into the Generals hands, and from thence no reduction either of that, or the town attempted.
4. That all such sums of money, as had been upon the proposition of the marriage, as aforesaid, delivered, should be repayed, or that befitting security should be given by the Provost and Citizens of *Edenborough* for the orderly repayment thereof at the Tower of London, (at some reasonable time before the day prefixed) in case King Edward should signify unto them, that there should not be any further prosecution of the said proposition of marriage.



Ann. 1475.  
R. 15.

lived in peace and quiet, the turbulent Duke of *Burgoyne*, never constant, but always in contention, reaped the triple fruit thereof this year at three several times. The first at *Ganson*, where he lost some honour, but more wealth. The second, at *Morat*, where he lost more honour and many men. The last at *Nancy*, where he not only lost men, money, and reputation, but life also by the *Switzers*, whom he had driven to a desperate resolution, and then not in hope to escape, but to sell their lives (when submission would not be accepted) at the dearest rate, they fought and prevailed.

Ann. 1477.  
R. 17.

Now begins *Richard* Duke of *York*, to set on foot his until then close contrived devilish devises, to compass the attainment of the crown of *England*, and for the first scene of the ensuing tragedy, to facilitate his passage, he secretly begins to withdraw the Kings affection from his brother *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and to that purpose susurreth unto him, that some of *Clarence* his followers were Sorcerers and Negromancers, and that they had given forth speeches, that one whose christen name began with the letter *G.* should disinherit his children, and carry the crown of *England*; and to put some varnish upon this suggestion, one of the Duke of *Clarence* his servants, which came with him out of *Ireland* from *Dublin*, where the Duke was born, is in his Masters absence (he being then in the Countrey) by the procurement underhand of *Glocester*, indicted, arraigned, condemned, and executed at *Tyborn* for conjuration, and all within the space of two days; hereof the Duke of *Clarence*, being thereto irritated by his brother *Glocester*, grievously complains to King *Edward*, who instead of giving redress (suspecting now the truth of the Duke of *Glocesters* buzz) took an occasion likewise by *Glocesters* advice (howsoever he made a glozing shew to *Clarence*, of being jealous of his honour, and disliking of the Kings disrespect, as he termed it, of his brothers abuse) to frame a colour to commit *Clarence* to the Tower, where his loving Brother *Richard* (not as it was feared without the Kings privity) took that order that he should not (for so he faithfully promised him upon his first commitment) lie long in prison, before he would procure his release, that he was drowned in a Butt of Malmsey, and then laid in his bed, to perswade the people that he dyed of discontent.

Clarence  
drowned.

This *George* Duke of *Clarence*, was Earl of *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, Lord of *Richmond*, and great Chamberlain of *England*; he married *Isabell*, daughter and co-heir of *Richard Nevil*, the great Earl of *Warwick*, by whom he had issue, *Edward*, afterwards Earl of *Warwick*, who dyed without issue, and *Margaret*, married to Sir *Richard Pole*, Knight, who had issue, *Henry* Lord *Mountayne*, and *Reginald Pole*, Cardinal.

The Pestilence about this time, raged with that fury in most parts of this Kingdom, that the sword in fifteen years before, devoured not so many as that did in four months.

Ann. 1480.  
R. 20.

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Ann. 1480.  
R. 22.

marriage. All which, except the first Article, were accordingly performed. A general pardon, and loving Letters from the King, are sent unto the Duke of *Albany*, with an authentick instrument, under the common seal of the Provost and Citizens of *Edenborough*, for performance of that part that belonged to them, to the Duke of *Glocester*, who upon the receipt thereof, and the surrender of the Castle of *Berwick*, with all Ordnance and Ammunition therein, (of which, and of the Town, the Lord *Stanley* with a competent number of Souldiers to guard the same, being made Captain) the General, with the rest of the Army, joyfully returned for *England*; leaving nothing undone by the way to endear himself to the good opinion of the Captains, and the applause of the common Souldiers.

The fair proceedings in the Scottish Expedition, did not bring so much content to the King of *England*, but the dishonourable and forgetful breach of Oath of the *French* King, did much more molest and trouble him. For he had received certain intelligence from his Ambassador-leiger, that the *French* King not only denied the payment of the annual tribute of five thousand Crowns, agreed upon and sworn to, upon the ratification of the late concluded peace, betwixt the Kings and Kingdoms of *England* and *France*, but had also married the Dolphin of *France* to the Lady *Margaret*, daughter of *Maximilian* the son of the Emperour, and thereby notoriously infringed both the Article concluded for a match between him and the Lady *Elizabeth* King *Edwards* daughter, and thereby broken his faith for the performance thereof so solemnly plighted; which much incensed the King of *England*, and so much the more, by how much the care to provide a fitting match for his daughter, when he deemed it to be past, was now to begin to be taken; he resolves therefore to vindicate this unsufferable disgrace offered his daughter, by punishment of the *French* Kings perjury; and herewith acquaints his Council, who unanimously conclude open wars to be proclaimed, and provision to be prepared, to prosecute the same to the uttermost. In this business the Duke of *Glocester* was not slack, but daily (though he knew it needless) did inculcate to the King his brother, how much it did import his honour, to draw his sword, and not to sheath it until *Lewis* for expiation of his injury, had submitted his Crown to the rightful owner, and given the King of *England* possession thereof. And did make proffer both of purse and person, to give him assistance therein to the uttermost. Preparation for the invasion of *France* is making in every place, to which the King is very proclive. But whilst he is intentive in the business, he is suddenly attached by the hand of death, and without *Glocesters* hand, though not without his wish, upon the ninth of *Aprill* 1483. at *Westminster* departed this mortal life, and was buried at *Windsor*.

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He was, saith Sir *Thomas More*, of goodly personage, and Princely aspect, courageous in heart, politick in counsel, not much amated in adversity, and rather joyful than proud in prosperity. In war fierce and resolute, in the field active and valiant, never venturous beyond reason, nor forward beyond discretion: in peace, for the most part, just and merciful; of comely countenance, of body strong and straight, but in his later days, with ease, and over-liberal diet, somewhat enclining to corpulency, but far from uncomeliness. In his youthful years, he was a little too too much fleshly given, from which, without the more grace of God, youth in health is hardly restrained; This fault could not greatly grieve the subject, for neither could one mans pleasure displease all (if it be done without rape or violence) neither is it permanent,

manent, for he that is most salacious in youth, if he will not leave it, in older years it will leave him.

He kept his subjects not in a constrained fear, but in a willing obedience, labouring by all means to keep them at peace amongst themselves, reconciling all differences amongst the Nobility, whereof he had notice, with which he concluded the last scene of this lives act.

He had issue by *Elizabeth* his wife,

*Edward*, his eldest son, born the fourth of *November* 1471. in the Sanctuary at *Westminster*.

*Richard*, born at *Shrewsbury*, murdered with his brother in the Tower.

*George*, born at *Shrewsbury*, who dyed young.

*Elizabeth*, born at *Westminster* the eleventh of *February* 1466. She was promised in marriage to *Charles* the Dolphin of *France*, but deceived, courted by her unnatural Uncle the Usurper, but deluded; but afterwards happily married to *Henry* the seventh.

*Cicely*, treated to be espoused to the Prince of *Scotland*, but used like her sister; she was afterward first married to *John* Vicount *Wells*, whom she survived, and took for a second husband one *Kyme* of *Lincolnshire*, but dyed without issue.

*Anne*, married to Sir *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, but dyed without issue living.

*Bridget* lived a professed Nun at *Dorford*.

*Mary*, who was contracted to the King of *Denmark*, but dyed before consummation.

*Margaret*, who dyed in her infancy.

*Katherine*, who was married to *William Courtney*, Earl of *Devon*, who had issue by him, *Henry*, afterwards Marquess of *Exceter*.

Besides these legitimate, he had two natural children.

*Arthur Plantagenet*, begotten of the body of *Elizabeth Lucy*, married to *Elizabeth*, sister and heir of *John* Vicount *Lisley*, by whom he had issue, three daughters, which all had issue.

1. *Bridget*, married to Sir *William Cardan*, Knight.

2. *Francis*, first married to *John Basset*, then to *Thomas Monck* of *Devon*.

3. *Elizabeth*, married to Sir *John Jephson*, Knight.

*Elizabeth*, begotten of the body of *Beatrix* the Lady *Anguisb*, was married to Sir *Thomas Lumley*, and by him had issue, *Richard* Lord *Lumley*, and *George Lumley*.

The King the night before his death, having before observed some discourteous passages to have gone betwixt the kindred of his Queen and some of the Nobles, but principally between the Queen and the Lord Chamberlain, (for women that have been widows, commonly maligne them most whom their husbands esteem much of, not out of malice but nature) caused them all to come to his bed side, to whom he said, holding the Queen by the hand;

My Lords, dear Kinsmen, and Allies, in what plight I lye, you may discern, but I feel; wherefore the less while I look to live with you, the more deeply I am moved, to be careful in what case I shall leave you. For I am confident, such as I leave you, my children shall find you. And if (as God forbid) they should find you at variance, they may unhappily fall at jar themselves, before they have capability of discretion to set attonement between you.

You

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*R.* 23.

You see the tenderness of their years, the only security therefore of their well-being, must consist in your concord. For it sufficeth not, if all of you respectively affect them, if any of you stomack the other, if they were men, your integrity happily might be sufficient. But childhood must be resuscitated by wise mens authority, and slippery youth underpropped with elder Counsel; neither of which they can have, except you give it, neither can you give it, unless you accord together.

For when each laboureth to pluck down what another setteth up, and for hatred to each others person, impugneth each others counsel, it must be long before any good conclusion go forward. And whilst each laboureth for superiority, flattery shall have more place, than plain and faithful advice; from whence of necessity must ensue the untoward education of the young Prince, whose mind in tender youth, infected with looseness of disposition, will (naturally thereto enclined) slip into riot and mischief, and so be the means of his own and this Kingdoms ruine, except God send the greater blessing, and through his grace make him apply his heart to wisdom, which if (as God grant he may) he shall attain unto, then they that by sinister perswasion, and evil advice, flattered him at first most, and pleased him best, shall afterward fall furthest out of his favour; for politic plots and vicious courses, ever at length shall reap the sowre, when good and wholesome counsel, though at first not embraced, shall prove sweet and wholesome.

I remember it to my grief, that there hath been discord among you, a great time, not always for great causes, but poor mistakings, sometimes a thing right well intended towards us, our mis-interpretation turneth to ill, or a small displeasure done us, is either by our own ill affection or evil tongue exasperated: Yet this I wot well, you never had so good occasion of emulation, as you have of unfeigned affection.

That we be all men, all natives of one Nation, nay, all Christians, and adopted brethren in Christ, I leave for Preachers to tell you; and yet I am uncertain, whether any Preachers words ought to have more power to move you, than his that is your Sovereign Lord, and is by and by to go to that place, that they all preach of.

But this I shall instantly desire you, to print in your memory, that the one part of you are my own flesh and blood, the other of my Alliance; and each of you with other, of consanguinity or affinity: And this spiritual conjunction by affinity (if the Sacraments of Christs Church, hold that estimation with us, which they ought, and I wish with all my soul they did) should no less move to mutual charity, than the bare respect of fleshly consanguinity. Jesus forbid, that you should live and love together the worse, for the self same cause for which you ought to love the better; and yet that of late (the more the pity) hath too often fallen out amongst us: And seldom is there found more deadly fewd, then amongst them, which by right and reason ought most affectionately to live together. But such a bewitching serpent is Ambition, and appetite of vain-glory and sovereignty, that amongst states where she once entereth, she slideth onward so swiftly, and maketh forward so fast and so far, that she seldom stops, nor leaves wriggling and wrangling, until by dissention and division, she have infected all that are near her. And first those that be poysoned by her, are carried away with a vehement desire to be next the best, then to walk hand in hand with the best, and lastly, to transcend the best, not brooking any equal, or allowing any superior.

Through

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R. 23.*

Through this immoderate affecting of titular worship, and borrowed respect of popularity, and thereby of debate and separation, what detriment, what trouble, what sorrow within these few years, hath grown in this Realm? I pray God aswell forget, as we have too much cause to our grief to remember: which events, if I could then aswell have foreseen, as I have with my more pain than pleasure now proved; By Gods blest Lady, I would never have won the courtesies of mens knees, with the loss of so many their friends heads; but since what is past cannot be recalled, we ought to be the more circumspect, that by that occasion we have suffered such infinite mischiefs before, that we eschoons fall not into the like again.

Intestin broils are now pallied, and the Lord be praise the Republick is at quiet; and this Kingdom in outward appearance in a fair likelihood to prosper in wealth and peace, under my children your Cosins, if God send them life, and you reciprocal love, of which two things, the less loss would be they, by whom, though God did his pleasure, yet should the Kingdom always find Kings, and peradventure as good Kings.

But if you amongst your selves, in an Infants reign fall at variance, many a good Christian shall perih, and haply He and you too before this Land shall again find the sweetness of peace. Therefore in these last words that your dying King shall ever deliver unto you, I earnestly exhort you, and instantly adjure you, and every one of you, for the love that I have even born you, for the love of your own souls, and for the love that our blessed Saviour bears unto us all: That from this time forward (all discontents drowned, unkindnesses buried, and grudges forgotten,) each of you embrace one anothers friendship, and unfeignedly love each the other, which I am confidently perswaded you will, if you regard any earthly thing that is good, if you respect God, your King, your native Countrey, the quiet of the Kingdom, kindred, or affinity, nay, your own safety, and souls health.

And so unable to use any longer speech, he sunk down into his bed, turning his eyes towards them, and by his countenance exprest, how desirous he was, to have that which he had imparted unto them, imprinted in their memory; and that he would have added more, if able to perswade their mutual atonement, and reciprocability of real abolition of all former disagreement, and unfeigned entertainment of future loving affection.

The hearers (as the sequel proved) more at that time to give him content, than perform what he with so great and good affection, had so Christianly requested, embrace each other; and who so forward to make fair expression of his good intention, as the Duke of Gloucester, and to that end, he with low obeysance first importunes the Queen, to blot out of her remembrance, any discourtesy or neglect he had offered unto her, protesting upon his faith to God, and honour to his house, to be for ever her observant, and affectionate servant: and then turning about to those that were present, he said; My Lords, I desire to be entertained in your good affections, and I here freely forgive whatsoever unkindness, discourtesy, or abuse I have received from any of you, and desire the like from you to me; and so courteously shaking them all by the hands, made shew of reconciliation, when all was counterfeited.

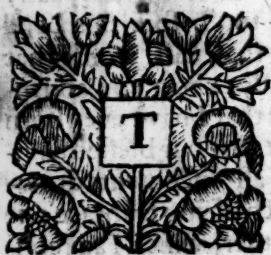
THE



# THE LIFE AND REIGN OF KING EDWARD

## THE FIFTH.

Ann. 1483.



HE young Prince was at *Ludlow* when his Father dyed, being not long before sent thither, with his Presence to curb the exorbitant licentiousness of some of the unruly *Welch*, who taking advantage of the great distance that was betwixt their Countrey and the Courts of Justice, which were then settled at *Westminster*, would divers times, in assurance of impunity, attempt many disorderly pranks.

For his better proceedings in manning of his place, the King had appointed *Anthony*, Earl *Rivers*, the Queens Brother, and so by the Mothers side Uncle to the Prince, to be his Director, and chief Councillor, with whom likewise were many of the Queens Kindred and Allies, in chief esteem and office, whereat the Duke of *Glocester* took exception: And well knowing, that if these were not by some means or other removed, and their present power abated, it was in vain for him to set on foot his new hatched stratagemical project, to disinherit the new King, and to take hold of the Crown in his own right; he did therefore cast about, to procure their amotion, the one from his place, the other from their Offices and attendance. And to that purpose (presuming on their inclination that way) he consulted first with the Duke of *Buckingham*, and afterwards with the Lord *Hastings*, making use of their distaste, against the power of the Queens Brother, the Kings half Brother, and his own inveterate malice against them all. To these in private conference he first insinuates the Queens low descent, and her kindreds unworthy promotions; and afterwards openly assures them, that if these upstarts and mushroom Nobles, were but permitted to be about the Kings person in his youth, they would afterwards by that means so purchase his favour, that they would become so powerful, when he should attain to maturity of years, that all the honours, possessions, and lines of the ancient Nobility of this Realm, would be in danger to be subject to their wills. And for prevention thereof, he did persuade them to joyn with him for their amotion, assuring them, that that effected, they might ratably proportion to themselves, and share all the dignities and places, and what benefit there might accrue thereby, amongst themselves and their friends.

These

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These insinuations of *Glocester*, joyned to their own ambitious and malevolent dispositions, so powerfully wrought upon their yielding natures, that they not only condescended to this proposition, for the amoval of the Queens kindred, but to whatsoever the Duke of *Glocester* should afterwards promote unto them.

But it is to be observed, that over and above the great wheel, which moved in their fancies, of envy to the eminency of the Queens kindred; there were two other lesser rounds, which not a little furthered this rotundity for association: The one, *Buckingham*s covetous desire to encrease his revenues, by the addition of the Earldom of *Hertford* for his part; the other, in the late Chamberlain, to have so good means, whereby to stave off such whom in King *Edwards* days he had justly offended, in transcending his authority in doing many actions, whereof he was reous of too too many, presuming now by this way to be supported, and though to the offence of many he had made his office the stawking-horse of his will, yet none should dare say black to his eye.

Whilst these things are projecting, the Queen appointeth Earl *Rivers* her Brother, and her Son *Richard* Lord *Gray*, and the rest of her Allies and friends, to provide with a strong power of able Souldiers, to guard the young King from *Ludlow* to *London*.

The Duke of *Glocester* being herewith acquainted, might well think, that if this plot were not effected before that time, his policy hardly afterwards would in that point prevail. He therefore cunningly writes to the Queen, whom ever since her Husbands death, he had with a great shew of respect, by visitation and intercourse of message, brought to a fools belief, to take seeming for being, and shadows for realities; And by his Letters intimates to her, that it was rumored abroad, that her Brother and Son, against her will, and without the knowledg of the late Kings kindred, was providing with a mighty power of armed Souldiers, to conduct his Majesty (in hostile manner) from *Wales* to *London*; which if it should be so done, would breed a great jealousy in the minds of the common people, who are apt enough to make an ill construction of the best action whereof they are ignorant: That there were ill members, whom the King had cause to suspect, and therefore enforcedly came thus armed.

And whereas now there was no appearance or likelyhood, but of true love and affection, betwixt his kindred and her Allies, if any armed troops should be now raised, and no cause known to what end, the so late unfeigned reconciliation, so happily by his late Brother procured, would be in question to be dissolved, yea, any the least mistake, dislike, or distaste, that might be taken, arise, or given, amongst the meanest of the common Souldiers, might minister occasion to disquiet the peace of the Kingdom, and set him and her Brother and partakers on both sides, together by the ears, and the mischief that thereby should ensue, (as it is to be feared a great deal would) was like enough to fall on that part, to which she wisht least hurt, and all the blame would redound to her and her kindred, which now she might easily, so please her, prevent, if she would but address her Letters to her Brother and Son, to assure them from his mouth, and upon his honour, that himself and all the late Kings kindred, were constantly resolved, inviolably to observe the amicable attonement, made by his Sovereign and her Husband upon his death-Bed, between her Allies and friends, and the Kings kindred.

The



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The too credulous Lady, gave plenary consent to what the Duke of Gloucester requested; and to that end dispatched messengers to her Brother and Son, who somewhat unwillingly, but upon her request were perswaded to forbear levying any more men, and casheered those they had provided, and attended only with their own menial servants, they set forwards towards the Queen with the young King; and with more hast than good speed, came to *Northampton*, and from thence the King went to *Stony-Stratford*, where the two Dukes, with a great train well provided, and mounted, arrived. And pretending the Town to be too little for the entertainment of their Companies, they went to *Northampton*, and alighted at the same Inn, where the Earl *Rivers* had taken up his lodging that night, resolving to overtake the King the next morning.

Upon this their accidental meeting, much Court complement, and interchange of fair language, and shew of courtesie passed, and not the least colour for distaste or dislike, taken or given on either side, neither by themselves or followets. But no sooner was supper ended, but the Dukes pretending weariness through hard riding, retire to their lodgings, and the Earl goeth to his.

But the Dukes with their private friends, when the Earl went to bed, went to Councel what course to take, with the least suspicion and the most safety, to make away the Earl and his kindred.

In this consultation they continue the most part of the night. And towards morning, they took the keys of the Inn gates, and disperst their followers to keep the passages, with instruction not to permit horse-man or foot-man to pass the way towards *Stony-Stratford*, pretending that none should go before, because the two Dukes might express their dutiful respect to the King the better, by being first ready to give their attendance at his going to horse.

The Earl having notice by the Host of these proceedings, imagining his destruction was plotted, yet being debarr'd of any means, either to make resistance, or escape, he set a good countenance upon the matter, and came boldly to the Duke of Gloucester his Chamber, where he found *Buckingham*, and the rest, with whom he expostulates the reason of this course taken, to imprison him and his in their Inn against their wills. But they instead of shaping him an answer, made their will the law, and without more speaking, commanded the Earl to be laid hands on, objecting those crimes to him whereof themselves only were faulty; And having taken order for his safe imprisonment, they speedily took horse and came to *Stony-Stratford*, at such time as the King was taking horse, whom in all fair and reverend manner they saluted. But a staff was quickly found that a dog may be smitten, and an offence is taken before given; a quarrel is pickt against the Lord *Richard Gray*, the Kings half brother, in his own presence. The Duke of *Buckingham* making relation to the King, that he and the Marquess his Brother, with Earl *Rivers*, the Queens Brother, had endeavoured, and almost effected, to draw unto themselves, the sole managing of the affairs of the Kingdom, and to sow dissension betwixt the Blood-royal of your Fathers side, and those scarce loyal on the Queens side, who greedily seek after the others ruin. And the better to effect it, the Lord Marquess without any warrant, but of his own head, out of the Tower of *London* (your principal Magazine) hath taken both the Treasure and Armour, to a great quantity; But what his purpose was to do therewith, though they were ignorant, yet there was

was just cause to suspect it was to no good end: And therefore it was thought expedient, by the advice of the Nobility, to attach him at *Northampton*, to have him forth-coming, to make answer for these, and other his overbold actions done against common honesty.

The King for want of experience, unable to sound the depth of these plots, mildly said to him, What my Brother Marquess hath done I cannot say, but for my Uncle and Brother here I dare answer, they are innocent of any unlawful practices, either against me or you.

Oh! quoth the Duke of *Buckingham*, that hath been their cunning to abuse your Majesties gentleness, with keeping their treachery from your knowledge. And thereupon instantly in the Kings presence, they arrested the Lord *Richard*, Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, Sir *Richard Hall*, and conveyed them to *Northampton*, and from the Kings Person, to his no little amazement and disquiet, they removed all, or the most part of his ancient Officers and Servants, placing in their rooms, their own creatures, whom they had power to command.

The Duke of *Glocester* taking upon him the custody of the King, took order for the conveying of the Prisoners to several Prisons in the North parts, and then set forwards with the King towards *London*, giving out by the way, that the Marquess and the Queens kindred, had plotted the destruction of the King, and all the blood-royal, and all the ancient Nobility of the Realm, and to alter the government of the Common-wealth: And that they were only imprisoned, to be brought to their tryal according to the Law.

And the better to settle these suggestions in the apprehension of the vulgar, they brought along with them divers Carts laden with Armour (of their own providing) with Dry-fats and great Chests, wherein they reported to be treasure for the payment of souldiers; with which they so possessed the common people, that all was believed for Gospel that was thus rumoured: But of all other, the neatest device, was, to have five of the Duke of *Glocesters* instruments, which were manacled and pinioned like Traitors, and these in every place where the King lodged by the way, were dispersed, with some keepers to be lodged in the chief Officers houses, and to be regarded as men of great birth, howsoever they were now prisoners, and they must seem to be penitent for their offences, and confess their own guilt, but laying the blame on the Queens Brother, who had drawn them into this vile plot of Treason; but these did so artificially express themselves, that they could at their pleasures invite their Hosts to call them Traytors, and cry out, that the earth was not fit to bear such treacherous rebels: and that the Dukes were to blame, not to stay the King in that place, until execution were done against such horrible malefactors, and their trayterous companions. This plot continued acting till the King came to *London*, and the disguise was taken from these impostors, and they were put to act another part.

The Queen with her second Son, and five Daughters being at *London*, receiving by Post intelligence of these doleful accidents, and fearing there were worse to follow, presently taketh Sanctuary at *Westminster*, with which place good Lady, she had formerly been acquainted.

The young King much grieved at the news, and more at the occasion, with tears and sighs expressed his discontent: But the Dukes as seeming ignorant of any of these things, comply themselves unto his service, and with all external shew of reverence and respect, and with many glozing protestations of their fidelity, and care of his safety and content, sought to comfort him, but it would not be.



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The Duke of *Glocester*, by the contrivement and procurement of the Duke of *Buckingham* by the Decree of the Councel Table, is appointed and established Protector of the King and Kingdom; which place added such fuel to the ambitious fire of his heart, that it burnt clean out all love, natural respect, or duty, either to Countrey, kindred, or King: and now nothing sets his imagination on work, but to compass the means how to bring his trayterous designs to effect; which was to make away the King and his Brother, which he is resolved, wickedly, yet wittily to attempt.

To contrive the getting into his custody the Duke of *York*, is the next Scene to be acted; for the more easie accomplishment whereof, he takes advantage of the Kings melancholy, and acquainteth both him and his Councel, That the company of his Brother would much conduce to his thereby being made merry; saying withal, that the Queen Mother was more wedded to her peevish will, than was convenient, either for the Honour of the Kingdom, or the Kings content. And therefore wist some course might be taken, either by persuation, or otherwise, to procure her to send the Duke of *York*, to bear the King his brother company.

The Councel, to whom *Glocester* seemed to speak nothing but Oracles, (so well had he moulded them) presently apprehend a necessity of a Companion to be found for the King, and none so fit as his own Brother. And to that end, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (one upon whose advice the Queen-Mother did much rely) is employed with instructions, to procure her to consent to part with her younger Son, to accompany the elder; which he accordingly did, yielding these reasons, the sooner to draw her to yield (as he said) to reason.

First, for that it was scandalous to the whole Realm, that a Child of so noble Parentage by birth, so tender of years, so near the King, and so innocent, should be enforced to be a Prisoner.

Secondly, that none could be permitted to enjoy the benefit of Sanctuary priviledg, but such whose consciences did accuse them of some offence, for which they feared to be punished by the Law: But the Dukes infancy and innocency was such, that he needed no such protection.

Thirdly, that none ought to be priviledged as a Sanctuary person, but whom discretion had enabled to require it; and for that reason he was not capable of it.

And lastly, any person might be taken out of that place, if so it be for his own perferment and benefit, and not to his punishment or prejudice, and therefore if the Queen should refuse to deliver him, he must be taken from her, *Volens volens*, and the rather, lest that through a froward jealousie, she should convey him beyond the Seas, as pretending he should be more safe in any place, than in the King his Brothers company.

To these the Queen makes answer, That none was more fit to have the tutelage of the child than the Mother, and the rather, in respect of his weak and tender disposition.

That each of those Brothers was the others safety, so long as they are kept asunder; that the life of the one was maintained in the body of the other: and if that one of them did well, the other was in no peril: and that it was dangerous to keep them both in one place. And as she was proceeding further, the Archbishop said, He was loath to put the power of his Primacy in execution, but her obstinacy would to his grief enforce him thereto. Whereupon the Queen perceiving that it was concluded, that reason must not

dispute

dispute against the Councils resolution, she with such expression of passion as tender-hearted Mothers use to part with a beloved child, when their Prophetick thoughts suggest unto them they take their last leave of the Babe, taketh the Duke by the hand, and delivereth him unto the Archbishop, saying, at his hands she would require that sweet Boy; and unable to speak more, she opened the flood-gates of her eyes, and bedewing her cheeks with tears, turned her back.

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The Archbishop having effected his errand, hasteth to the Lords, who in the Star-chamber with the Protector, stay expecting their coming: to whom making relation with what unwillingness the Mother was perswaded to yield consent to part with her child, he presented the innocent Babe unto them; of whom the Protector had no sooner taken a glimpse, when with all ceremonious reverence he ariseth and embraceth him in his arms, vowing with affectionate protestation, that nothing (next the welfare of his Sovereign, which he esteemed above all earthly things) brought him more content than the Nephew of *Torks* wisht for presence: and then (*Judas-like*) kissing his cheek, he takes leave of the Board, and presently conducteth him to the King his Brother, who with joyful heart and great affection entertained him, which was by so much the more to be esteemed, by how much it was unfained.

The Protector now having the game, he hunted in his own toiles, under pretext of provident care, that they might securely repose themselves until the distempers of the Common-wealth (whereof himself only was actor and author) might be quieted: he caused them within few days in great Pomp and State, to be conveyed thorow *London*, to the Tower, there at pleasure to remain until the time of the Coronation, towards which there was great show of preparation made.

The Protectors machinations could not well work by themselves, they must have assistance, he wanted *Achitophel*: the Duke of *Buckingham*, whose authority and power did bear a great sway amongst the Courtiers, must cunningly be drawn to his bent. To which purpose, he proposed to him, that whereas he had been formerly an earnest Petitioner to King *Edward* the fourth his brother-in-law, for the Earldom of *Hertsford*, whereunto it did appear the Duke to have a good Title, yet he could never attain it; yet, now if he would be constant, and joyn hand in hand with him, he would put him in a way, whereby to be assured to obtain in. And so upon faithful promise, to procure *Buckingham* to be estated in that Earldom, and of a match to be concluded betwixt their issue, and an equal partition of the treasure of the Crown betwixt them two (for performance whereof the Protectors oaths are not wanting) *Buckingham* is not only drawn to condescend, but is most forward to contrive, and plot stratagems, and the best courses to compass the worst of ill effects, which was, by depriving their innocent Nephews (for *Glocester* was Uncle by the Fathers side, and *Buckingham* by the marriage of their Fathers Sister) of their right and lively hood, and some others of their lives, to make the Protector a more facil passage to lay hold on the Crown.

The Protector having purchased so true a partner of his ambitious designs, well knowing it was no good policy, to play the villain by half-deal; is resolved, to suffer never a rub to lie in the way, that might hinder the true running of his bowle. And having a far-off sounded the Lord *Hastings*, and finding him so constant to the King his old Masters Sons, that



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nothing could withdraw him from doing them true service, he himself must be removed out of the way, the effecting whereof, was none of the least strains of policy; for he must not yet be meddled with, until by his nail, the nails of his Antagonists the Queens Brother, and Sons by Sir *John Gray* her former husband, be driven out: the compassing whereof, was meeterly *Hastings* his share. But no sooner was the engin up by his device, that should make them headless, but by *Buckingham's* device, *Hastings* himself is brought to his block.

All the Lords of the Privy Council are in the Protector's name, generally convoked to the Tower; where, at the Council Table, sitting preparations for the speedy Coronation of the young King are proposed, and other like business, wherewith to amuse the Lords, and entertain time, until the Protector came in; who excusing himself for having over-slept himself that morning, taking his Chair, very affably saluted them, merrily jesting with some, and more than ordinarily pleasant with them all: But on a sudden, he framed an excuse for his present absence; leaving them in the mean-time somewhat to confer upon until his return, which he promised should be very speedily, he so went out of the Chamber.

Within the space of an hour he returned, but the wind was turned, his affable countenance, and familiar language, are changed into distracted looks, and much show of inward perturbation, which with sighing and other passionate gestures, he expressed to the uttermost.

After a long silence (the better to prepare them to the more attention) he confusedly interrogates: what they deserved, that had so fariously practised his destruction, being of the blood royal, Uncle to the King, and Protector of his person?

This unexpected interrogation, in that strange manner urged, strook such an amazement amongst the Lords, that they all stood gazing one on another, as if the Protector's speeches had had the vertue of *Medusa's* head. At length, the Lord *Hastings*, by *Buckingham's* instigation, and presuming of his (as he thought) more than ordinary intimacy with the Protector, and the innocency of his own conscience, boldly answered, That they deserved to undergo the punishment of Traitors, whatsoever they were, which the rest by their silence approved: with that the Protector riseth up from his seat, and with a stern look upon *Hastings*, replied, why, it is the old Sorceress my brothers Widow, and her Partner that common Strumpet *Jane Shore*, that have by incantation conspired to bereave me of my life: And had I not by Gods great mercy happily come to the discovery of their practices, and found out the plot, they had effected their villany before suspected. Yet have I not altogether escaped free from their malice; for behold (and then he bared his left arm to the elbow and showed it) how mischievously they have caused this dear limb of mine to wither and grow useless, and thus should all my body have been served, if they might have had their will, and a little longer space.

Those to whom the Queens religious courses, and Christian condition were not unknown, and were not altogether ignorant to what hard shifts the Protector was driven, that could provide no other colour for his accusation, but the showing of his late discoloured arm; the defect whereof, all knew that knew him, had been as it was ever since his birth; and the coupling of his Queen sister, and his Brothers Concubine, in one and the same plot of conspiracy against him, between whom there was such an antipathy of disposition, was the occasion that the Lords at his first speech, so now late gazing

one

one upon the other, untill the Lord *Hastings* (though not well pleased, that he was not as well made privy to this intended stratagem, as with that days conclusion, to have the Queens Brother, Son, and Allies, to be executed at *Pomfret*) willing, out of malignity to her, to help forward the accusation against the Queen, but with some pretext to extenuate the aspersion cast upon his Paramour, Mistriss *Shore*, (whom ever since the death of the King, he had entertained for his bedfellow, and had but that morning parted from her) with a sober look, submissly said, If the Queen have conspired, which word was no sooner out of the Chamberlain's mouth, when the Protector in great show of choller, clapping his fist upon the board, frowning, looking upon him, said, tellest thou me of *if* and *and*? I tell thee, they, and none but they, have done it, and thou thy self art not only acquainted with, but partaker of the villany, and that I will make good upon thy body.

And therewith upon a watch-word given, those prepared before for that purpose, in the outer chamber, cryed, treason, treason; wherewith a great number of men in arms came rushing in (as it were) to guard the Protector, one of which with a Poll-ax strook a main blow at the Lord *Strange*, and wounded him on the head, and had slain him out-right, had he not, to avoid the stroke, slipt backward, and fald down upon the ground. Forthwith the Protector arrested the Lord *Hastings* of high Treason, and wisht him to make hast to be confessed, for he sware by Saint *Paul* (his usual oath) that he would not touch bread or drink until he had his head from his shoulders. *Hastings* calling to mind his last nights dreams, his solicitations that morning, by his sweet Mistriss, from either trusting the Boar, or that day to be at the Councel board; the speeches that had past betwixt the Lord *Stanley* and him in riding together, and the ominous predictions of ill speed, by the often stumbling of his horse, and such old peoples observations, he was easily perswaded to give credit, to what the Protector had sworn; yet, being about to say somewhat, he was presently hurried away, and lest he should have been too long at shrift, or therein might discover what he knew, which though it were not much, yet it was more than the Protector would have willingly known, lest the world might be acquainted with his villany; he was upon the next Timber-log they were at (though laid there for a better use) beheaded on the Green near the Chappel of the Tower. So absolute was the Protectors progress in policy, that he incited *Hastings* on to plot the death of Earl *Rivers*, the Lord *Gray*, and the rest of the Queens kindred, at *Pomfret* on the same day whereon *Buckingham*, by the like train, had plotted to make him headless. And that there might seem some ground for what was done, the Lords Grace of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Lord *Stanley* and divers others, were presently clapt Prisoners, in sundry holds of the Tower. And for a further colourable gloss of this so plain a text, divers Citizens of *London*, prepared before, to give credit to whatsoever rumour should beset abroad, are sent for with all speed to come with what forces and power they could draw together, to the Tower, to the Protector, who is pretended (and so it was generally bruited abroad as soon as ever the Lords were entred within the Tower gates) to be in great jeopardy, occasioned by a plot of treason contrived against him by the late Lord Chamberlain, and others his complices: And to countenance the rumour somewhat the more (at the approach of such friends whom the Protector had sent for, and who, to purchase his custom, or procure his countenance, would go beyond the loss of a limb) he, together



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ther with the Duke of *Buckingham*, covered in rusty and unfashionable armor, present themselves to their view; pretending that haste, and the approach of the peril, would not permit them to stay for provision of better. And then with a counterfeit shew of great perturbation, the Protector told them, how the Lord *Hastings*, by the contrivance and instigation of his late Brothers Wife, and Concubine, *Jane Shore*, had well-nigh entrapped my good Cousin (pointing to *Buckingham*) and my self, for suddenly they resolved to have destroyed us, as we sat at Counsel-Table this morning; and notwithstanding the happy discovery thereof, yet the uncertainty of the number, or quality of the Confederates, enforced us, to prevent the mischief, and preserve the King (who what the Traytors intended against him was uncertain) in safety, to run an unusual, but no unlawful course against the said Lord *Hastings*; considering the necessity of the time, and their so eminent danger, and without orderly Tryal, which as now was needless, in regard he was taken in the manner, and presumed to have been rescued, if execution had been deferred, instantly to have him beheaded. Then the Protector heartily thanked the Londoners great love and pains, whereby they did express their readiness, to bring him succour so opportunely, desiring them to acquaint their neighbours with what had passed, and so dismissed them: but with them sent an Herald at arms with a Proclamation, which, for the length, and fair writing in a set hand in Parchment, to all of judgment did appear to be prepared long before the intimated offences against the Lord *Hastings*, therein so fully expressed, were either known or suspected. This Proclamation in the Kings name was publicly made (the Major and the Sheriffs present in all places usual) wherewith, howsoever the Vulgar seemed satisfied, which seldom understand the truth of State-matters, and are carried away more with opinion than judgment: yet those of more understanding did not forbear publicly to say, that the Proclamation was dictated by divination, and ingrossed by sorcery.

Presently upon this, *Jane Shores* lodgings are searched narrowly, and ransacked thoroughly, and to the value of three thousand Marks, in Jewells, Plate, Money, and Household-stuff, and all that ever she had, seiz'd to the Kings use, and put under safe custody: She her self is committed to straight Prison. The crime laid to her charge was witchcraft, pretended to be wrought against the Protectors person, which when neither by subordination, suggestion, testimony, colour or inference, could be made good against her; yet, that somewhat might be done, that might be a means to make her obnoxious to the tongues of the multitude, the stain of incontinence is laid to her charge, and for that only, by the Bishop of *London*s Official, she is adjudged to open penance; which she under-went with that deportment and well becoming countenance, that strook malice blind, and drew pity from all the beholders, so that they that hated her course of former life, and were well pleased to see vice so corrected, took commiseration of her punishment, when they had considered, that it was procured by the Protector, more upon old malice than new matter, rather to work his private revenge, than her reformation: But this thus done, was left to be the subject of the Peoples discourse, as but the by. The main was of more consequence, which must carefully be expedited during these transactions; all the Nobility that were at liberty, were suspicious one of another, and few or none could imagin any just grounds

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grounds for suspect, being altogether ignorant of what the Protector aimed at. In the mean time, he with glozing terms sprinkled Court holy-water amongst all, and secret promises of preferment to those whose power and will to withstand him he doubted, when he should discover his yet clouded project; by this means he kept them altogether at the Court, not giving way to any one to depart into the Countrey.

Now he begins to fit the Ladder which ere long he will rear up, and in the interim worketh with Sir *Edmond Shaw* Maior of London, and his brother *John Shaw*, and *Fryar Pincket* Provincial of the *Augustin* Fryars near *Algate*, both Doctors of Divinity, and greater than good, Churchmen of greater learning than honesty, and yet of more repute than learning, being such that more regarded, by the ignorant to be accounted learned, than by the learned to be judged ignorant. These three were thus severally to be employed; *Edmond Shaw* must make some means to draw a party amongst the Aldermen, and most substantial Citizens, to give credit, at least countenance, to what by these two Doctors should be delivered in the Pulpit; and understand by one and one to set forth the incapability of the Children of King *Edward* to sway the Scepter, upon the grounds following:

The Preachers in their several places, the one at *Pauls Cross*, the other at *Saint Maries Spittle*, to exhort the hearts of the People to refuse the last Kings Son, and accept of the new Protector to be their King. For the better advancement thereunto, the Protector was not ashamed to appoint, at least to give way, that bastardy should be alledged either in King *Edward*, or his children, or both: Thereby to disable King *Edward* by right to inherit the Crown, as Heir to the Duke of *York* his putative Father, and so by like inference the Prince to him.

To obtrude Bastardy to King *Edward*, must draw his Mothers fame in question, she being Mother to them both, and yet living. But rather than he would be destitute of pretext to fit his purpose, he was not discontented to proclaim his Mother a strumpet, and his own Father a Cornute. But that point was by *Buckingham* thought, and so advised to be but sparingly urged: and as it were, but by the by, but to give a touch that neither King *Edward*, nor the Duke of *Clarence*, were the lawfully begot children of *Richard Duke of York*: But mainly to insist, and again and again to praise, That the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy* was pre-contracted to King *Edward*, and was by the law of God and man his lawful Wife; and from those premises to draw this conclusion, That the Prince and all the children King *Edward* had by his Queen, the late Lady *Gray*, were all natural children, and illegitimate.

A devillish plot, the prosecution whereof was most unfit for a Divine to have his finger in, much more to thrust in his whole arm; yet Doctor *Shaw*, by the instigation of the Devil, and his own ambitious designs, not only forbore to dissuade the Protector from further prosecution of this so foul and unheard of a Projection, to make the Pulpit worse than a *Pasquil*, and the sole Channel to convey abroad the polluted stream of falshood and lies; but (with *Judas*) was well pleased with the employment: and since the one against nature, would traduce his own Mothers honesty; the other against the tenet of Religion would deliver *Apocryphal* doctrine for Canonical Scripture, to his Auditory; and for the sooner effecting thereof, like a down-right instrument for the Devil, upon the first Sunday in June *Anno Dom. 1483.* at *Pauls Cross*, he being appointed to preach



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preach there, made choice of his Text out of the fourth chapter of the book of wisdom.

*Bastard Plants shall take no deep Root.*

In handling whereof, he inveighed much against children begotten in adultery, which he affirmed all such to be, as were begotten after marriage, when either party was before affianced to another; and laboured mainly to approve by argument and example, the truth of his doctrine. And with as much illustration, as Arts could use, or nature help forward, extoll'd the many heroic virtues of *Richard* late Duke of *York*, the sole legitimate son of whom, and lively pattern of whose disposition, he pronounced the Duke of *Gloucester*, now Protector, to be the true and lively Image; yet, though the Protector, accompanied with the Duke of *Buckingham* and an extraordinary train, came to the Sermon place, whilst his Commendations were by the Preacher, yet out beyond the allowance of truth, whereof he had made ample declaration before, and now again, after the two Dukes were seated, did illustrate the same passage of the Protector's praise-worthy graces, and many merits; yet neither the declaration or repetition could prevail so far, as to win belief in the Auditory, of what was urged or delivered: which though it no way discouraged the Protector, yet it so dejected the Doctor, that the Sermon ended, he, as ashamed of his lesson, disconsolately departed, and never after that was publicly seen; but left the second part to be acted by *Fryar Pincher*, upon *Easter Monday* following; and the Duke of *Buckingham* in the meantime to take their cues and to proceed in the Pageant. And accordingly within two days after, *Buckingham*, having procured the Major *Sir Edmond Shew*, to assemble the Recorder, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and many of the substantiallest Citizens in every Ward, at the *Guild-Hall* in *London*, as it were, to give approbation of what the Doctor at *Pauls Cross* had the Sunday before (so unlike himself) forgetfully suggested, to the same purpose, and upon the said theam, made a rhetorical (though not religious) exhortation, concluding with this portion of Scripture, *We to that Realm that hath a child to their King*. But the people, contrary to his expectation, and the Majors prepared voices, (as was promised) were all silent; whereupon the Duke enquired in private of the Major, the reason of this their dull silence, And was answered, that the Assembly did not well hear nor understand what he had said; whereupon, the Duke straining his voice, began again, and both with gesture of body, and formally composed countenance, repeated to the same purpose other words, whereby he gained the commendations, that no man could deliver so much bad matter, in so good words, & quaint phrases.

But whether out of tenderness of conscience, or straining courtesie, who should first begin, or, which is likely, the heavenly providence had so decreed it, not the least show amongst the Assembly of giving allowance of what was spoken, by word of mouth or other gesture, was discovered: whereupon the Major said to *Buckingham*, That he was partly perswaded that the Commons, not used to receive any such charge or proposition, but from the mouth of their Recorder, attended when he would speak, wherefore *John Fitz-William*, the then Recorder, was presently commanded to desire the votes of the Commons to the matter, thus twice by the Duke of *Buckingham* proposed. But he, being as well furnished with gifts of the mind as of the body, a man both learned and honest, with a grave and sober countenance, made a re-iteration of the Dukes duplicate Oration, adding no more but this; Thus his grace said, and God give you grace to consider of it carefully.

carefully. But the Assembly collecting by the Recorders countenance, and manner of delivery, that he did not well relish the exposition himself, still continued silent. Then the Duke again, whispered in the Majors ears, that they stood obstinately mute; and addressing himself again to the Assembly, he said, Good friends we are come unto you to make a motion, not upon any necessity that you must give your either assent or consent to the point in question: For what we have proposed, will ye, nill ye, might and may be done, but the only inducement thereof, was our respectful love and loving respect towards you: for as much as we would have nothing done of this nature, but that we would first acquaint you with it. And since, you are to share with us in the blessing of such a business, which though you see not or regard not, as it seems, yet is it most conducive to your peace and the general quiet.

Wherefore once again require but your answer, yea, or no, whether you be resolved, as all the Nobles now at Court are; to accept of the noble Protector Duke *Richard* the only legitimate Son, of that ever to be honorably remembered by you and us, *Richard* Duke of *York*, for your Sovereign or not.

Whereupon those that stood next unto the Bar, made an indistinct murmuring, whilst at their back, the scum or dregs of the City, drawn thither by the Dukes followers, with themselves cast up their Caps, and with an obstreperous vociferation cryed, a *Richard*, a *Richard*. And whilst the more sober minded and sufficient Citizens that were before, turned back their heads to observe the condition and quality of those that made the acclamation, themselves not consenting nor speaking to the point in question, the Duke of *Buckingham*, said, It was a well becoming expression of their affection, to have all with one consent, to embrace the undubitate heir, the Royal Protector Duke *Richard*, for their Sovereign Lord and King. And that he would thoroughly acquaint him with their willing forwardness to approve him. And then entreating the Major and his Brethren, to be ready the next morning at *Baynards* Castle, where the Duke Protector then resided, to joyn with him to petition the elected *Richard*, to accept of this their so freely proffered subjection, he orderly took his leave and departed: and so for that time the company was dissolved.

In the morning at the place appointed, the Major with all such, whose presence he could persuade or procure in their Citizens formal habit, and the Duke of *Buckingham* with all his favourites and friends, and all the Court Butter-flies of that age re-assemble.

*Buckingham*, together with information of what is past, sendeth notice before unto the Protector (sufficiently instructed clearly to dissemble his notice of any the pre-passages;) That the Major of *London*, with all the most of the nobility of *England*, were ready (so please his grace) to vouchsafe them the hearing, to present a supplication unto him concerning a business of great consequence: To whom the Protector returns answer; That howsoever he durst not give way to the least suspicion of what his Cozen of *Buckingham* should promote, yet he heartily desired him, to be pleased by that Gentleman he sent, to return some slight intimation of their intended request, before his coming unto them should be expected; for that the times were dangerous, and the unexpected approach of such a confluence of noble and worthy persons, might give occasion of some doubt to his friends, though not to himself of the motive of such an Assembly; wherefore *Buckingham*, though privately



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vately, otherwise persuaded; publicly made a plausible demonstration of the Protector's integrity, from affecting any such Title, and thereupon returned this reply:

That the message they were to deliver, must be to himself in person. And therefore in the name of all the rest, he humbly besought his Grace, to vouchsafe them the liberty of admission into his presence. For otherwise, they must return much discontented, to have lost their labors, and the opportunity, to have imparted unto him a business of that importance, wherein himself partly, and the Republick in general, had an interest.

At length, as if not well assured of their well meaning towards him, the Protector appears unto them, in an upper Gallery, making semblance, as though he would prevent danger by standing in his fort. To whom *Buckingham*, in behalf of the Major and the Nobility, and others there Assembled, makes his humble request, in most respectful and reverent manner, that his Grace should pardon what he should declare unto him, and not to be offended with what they with all hearty and unfeigned affection desired should by his Highness be approved of, and embraced.

Many false fires are flisht out, before the Duke of *Buckingham* would be brought to discover to the Protector in plain terms, their cause of coming; but, though long first, at last he said.

The languishing estate of the Commonwealth, did require speedy help, which could no way be procured, except he, to whom the government thereof did only rightfully appertain, would undertake, at the respective solicitation, and humbly entreaty, both of the Nobility and Gentry, there present, to accept of the sole managing, as King, of the affairs of the Kingdom, and accept of their voluntary tender of their due allegiance; whereat the Protector starting back, as if he had seen, or heard, something most displeasing unto him; passionately said, I little thought good Cozen, that you of all men, would have made to me a motion, to embrace that which of all things in the world I have thought most agreeable to honesty to decline; far be it from my imagination, to affect, or accept, that which, without apparent wrong to my dear deceased brothers sweet children, and my own upright conscience, I cannot well approve of: and then being about to proceed further in his premeditated tract of dissimulation, the Duke of *Buckingham*, in a seeming abrupt passion, kneeling upon his knee, said, Your Grace was pleased to give a free pardon, of what I should in the name of all this so worthy an Assembly relate unto you, in assurance whereof I have adventured to express the hearty respect we bear unto you, as is demonstrated by this (I now fear over forward) tender of dutiful obedience unto you; but herewith, I must add further, that it is unanimously resolved on, That the children of your late brother *Edward* the fourth, as being generally known and proved to be illegitimate, shall never be admitted the possession of the Crown of *England*. And therefore, if neither respect of your own well deserving advancement, or regard of the good of the Commonwealth, will move you to accord to this our no unreasonable request (we having gone now so far that with safety we cannot retract) we are resolute to confer the dignity upon some other of the line of *Lancaster*, that shall be more sensible of his own glory, and our good: be not therefore so much your own enemy, and our adversary; but at our so humble entreaty accept of this so presently proffered preferment. But if (as we shall be most unhappy and disconsolate to hear it) your Grace will refuse us, we must then seek, and hope not to fail to find one that shall, and not unworthily,

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worthily (with half these entreaties) undertake to undergo the danger or hazzard, which you may be pleased sinisterly to suppose is in the acceptance. These words, in the apprehension of the auditory, from *Buckingham*, were so emphatical and pathetical, that they wrought so feelingly upon his passions, that the Protector could not but be contented to expatiate his desire; yet with some change of countenance, and not without seeming reluctance, he did say, Since it is manifestly demonstrated unto Men, that the whole Realm is so resolved, That they will by no means admit my (to me in my particular conceit most dearly respected) Nephews, my intirely beloved, new deceased brothers children, and your Late Kings Sons, being now infants, to reign over you, whom no earthly creature without your good approbation can well govern; and since the right of Inheritance of the Crown justly appertaineth to me, as to the truly legitimate and indubitate heir of *Richard Plantagenet Duke of York*, my illustrious father, to which Title your free and fair Election is conjoynd (which we chiefly embrace as effectual and operative) we are contented to condescend to your importunities, and to accept of the Royal Government of this Kingdom; And will to the uttermost of our poor abilities, endeavour the good and orderly managing thereof. And therewithal, descended from the upper Gallery, where all the while before he had stayed, and came down, and formally saluted them all; where-with the giddy headed multitude made the streets echo, with their loud acclamation of, Long live King *Richard* our dread Sovereign Lord. And so the Duke of *Buckingham* took his solemn leave, and every man departed to make a descant at home of the plain song abroad, as every ones several fancies did minister occasion.

All this time, the two innocent infants are entertained with sports and pastimes, but unacquainted with any thing that had passed as afore to their prejudice.

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THE



# THE LIFE AND REIGN OF KING RICHARD.

## THE THIRD.

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THE next day, the late Protector, with a great train, rode to *Westminster-Hall*, and seating himself in the Kings-Bench, where the Judges of that Court in the Term time usually sit; he said, that it was the principal duty of a good King, carefully to look to the due administration of the municipal Laws of the Kingdom; in which part he would not be defective. And then proceeding with a well compact Oration in commendations of peace, and discovery of the discommodities of dissention; He caused a general Proclamation to be made, for abolition, and pardon of all injury, wrongs, and enmity past. And to give it the better colour, He caused one *Fogge* (which had formerly given him occasion of just exception, for abusing him with a tale of truth) to be sent for out of Sanctuary at *Westminster*, whither to prevent the Protectors anger, he was fled, and set presently at liberty, and caused him in publick to kiss his hand.

In his return from *Westminster*, his affable complement in the streets was so free and frequent, That by the discreeter sort, it seemed to favour more like fawning servility, than courtly courtesie, rather base then welbehaved.

After his return home, by the fair help of a foul, but close covered plot, he had won an unconstant woman, and procured the consent (I dare not think good will or affection) of the Lady *Anne*, the youngest daughter of great *Warwick*, the relict of Prince *Edward*, to be his wife; howsoever, she could not be ignorant, that her suitor had been the instrument, if not the author, of the tragical murders of both her husband and father. But the reason of most womens actions, are as indiscoverable, as Reason in most of them is undiscernable.

To prevent, had-I-wist, and to secure his Coronation, five thousand men are sent for out of the *Northern* parts. The guilt of a biting conscience, like an Attorney general, ever informing against the soul, always suggesting unto him fears, and causes of suspicion, where no need was. These souldiers ill clad and worse armed being come, and all things prepared for the Coronation (at least

left wife those put in use or action that were intended for the investiture of Edward the fifth in Regality) the but late Protector, now King Richard, upon the fourth day of July, together with his new Bride, came from Baynards Castle to the Tower by water, where he created *Thomas Lord Howard Duke of Norfolk*, his son *Sir Thomas Howard Earl of Surry*. *William Lord Barkley*, Earl of Nottingham.

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*Francis Lord Lovel Viscount Lovel*, and Chamberlain to the King; and the Lord *Stanely* (who had been committed prisoner to the Tower, in regard that his Son was reported to have levied forces in *Lancashire*) was not only that day released out of prison, but made Lord Steward of the Kings Household.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was likewise then delivered, but the Bishop of *Ely* was committed to the custody of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who took order to have him sent to his Castle of *Brecknock* in *Wales*. The same night were made seventeen Knights of the Bath.

*Edmond* the Duke of *Suffolks* Son.

*George Gray*, the Earl of *Kents* Son.

*William*, Son to the Lord *Zouch*.

*Henry Aburgaveny*.

*Christopher Willoughby*.

*Henry Babington*.

*Thomas Arundel*.

*Thomas Bulloign*.

*Gervois of Clifton*.

*William Say*.

*Edmond Bedingsfeld*.

*William Enderby*.

*Thomas Lewkner*.

*Thomas of Urmon*.

*John Brown*, and

*William Berckley*.

Upon the fifth day of *July*, the King in great state rode thorow the City of *London* from the Tower to *Westminster*, and on the morrow following the King and Queen came from the Palace to the great Hall, and from thence bare-footed upon cloath of Ray, they went to *S. Peters Abby* at *Westminster*, every one of the Nobles and Officers of State attending according to their several ranks and places. The Cardinal sang Mass, and after *Pax*, the King and Queen descended from before *Saint Edwards* shrine to the high Altar, before which they were both howeled, having but one host divided betwixt them. Then returned they both and offered at the shrine, where the King left the Crown of *S. E.* and took his own Crown; and then in order as they came they returned. All ceremonies of solemnity finished, the King gave License to all the Nobility, and others that were thereof desirous, to depart to their several Habitations (except the Lord *Stanley*) respectively giving unto them strict commandment at their departure from him, To be careful to maintain the truth of Religion, to preserve the peace and quiet of the Kingdom, and to prevent extortion and wrong, that otherwise through their negligence might happen unto his Subjects, setting them a Lesson himself never meant to learn, at lestwise Practise: For like *Scilla*, he commanded others under great penalties, to be vertuous and modest, when he himself walked the clean contrary



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contrary way. The Northern men well rewarded, are returned home, and the King left at leasure to discover his masked hypocrisy, and at liberty to invent and put in practise stratagems of death and murder. And as afterwards he ended his time with the best which was his; so began he his reign with the worst, which was the death of his two innocent Nephews.

The King and Queen take their progress into *Glocester*, to visit, in his new honour, the place of which he bare the name of his old. By the way he plotteth the manner of the destruction of the two innocent lambs left behind in the slaughter-house. For the execution whereof he sent one of his execrable instruments, named *John Green*, with a Letter, and instructions to *Sir Robert Brackenbury*, Lieutenant of the Tower (a Creature of no small credit with him) presently upon the sight thereof to take order for the dispatching out of the way, those two (as he termed them) Bastard brats: but the Lieutenant in this (howsoever vehemently suspected as guilty of other like employments) being honest, both detested the business, and denied to perform the command; with which answer *Green* returned to *Warwick*, where the King then was, to whom he related the Lieutenants answer; wherewith the King was doubly perplexed, with the discovery of his intention, and the refusal by him on whose readines he much presumed before. And much discontented he withdrew to his chamber, where after some vent to his passion, he made enquiry of some of the Pages, if any could think of a man, that to gain his Sovereigns favour, would hazard the loss of a finger, or somewhat more; whereupon one of the Pages presently gave Information of a Knight, who to give wing to his ambitious desires, which were ever desirous of the Kings employment, would not be scrupulously conscientious, nor would stand much upon the hazard of his limbs to do his Majesty service, adding withal that he was now in bed in the next Chamber; upon this man the King presently pitcht, and hastily rising from the Close-stool, (for this Communication was at the time of evacuation, a fair Closet and a fit season for such Counsel) he went forth into the Palace Chamber, where he found two Brothers, *Sir Thomas* and *Sir James Tirrel* in Bed together, men of different conditions, but equal comeliness of feature and countenance, wherein few in those times did exceed them. *Sir James* before by the Page fully described to be the undertaker, is singled out and privately conferred withal by the King: and to him he briefly importeth his mind, and the means to purchase his perpetual respect and favour. The Knight as greedy of the employment as the King to have it effected, out-went the Kings expectation in forwardness, undertakes the performance of whatsoever shall be appointed; whereupon the next Morning he is dispatched with Letters Mandatory to *Sir Robert Brackenbury*, for present surrender up of his Command the Keys of the Tower for a time, to the Bearer, *Sir James Tirrel*, which was accordingly done.

*Sir James* before-hand had furnished himself with Actors for such a filthy Tragedy, whose Names were *Miles Forrest* and *Dighton*, a couple of Rake-shames, that had been thorowly fleisht in all villany, and had so often offended the Law by shedding of Blood, that the Custom thereof had taken away the sense of the sin, so that to cut the throat of a Prince or a Pig, was without difference to them. These, the Second night after his having of the Keys of the Tower, *Sir James* employs to smother the two poor Innocents in their Bed, which they did, by wrapping hard their

their Pillows about their Heads, and stopping their Breath with their Bed-clothes; which done, they took and Buried them under the Stairs, amongst a heap of Stones; from whence they were after removed in more obscurity, but to a place of Christian Burial, by Sir Robert Brackenburie's Chaplain, whose sudden death, which hapned some few days after, hindered the discovery of the place, and thereby gave cause of doubt to some, and colour to others, by the credulous folly of a few, but the inveterate malice of more, afterwards to justifie *Perkin Warbeck's* and other imposture.

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The Tragedy being come to the Catastrophe, away posts Sir James, (having first taken order for the shipping of his agents for the Low-Countries) to the King, from whom at first he received gracious countenance, good words, and great promises, but was never afterwards preferred or imployed by the King (as perceiving in his looks some reluctancy for what he had so lately done) but scorned and detested by all that knew the employment, abandoned by his own Brother, and despicable in his own thoughts: And such is usually the reward of those that pawn their Souls to purchase uncertain preferment; for as good Physicians affect not Poyson, though skilfully sometimes they make use of it; no more do any the Traitor, that take advantage of the treason.

The King doth now perceive that he is able enough to subsist of himself, and without *Buckingham's* aid or advise, powerful enough to Plot and actuate any requirable project: And therefore having now freed himself from any competitors for the Garland, by the Murther of his two Nephews, he began by little and little to wean himself from *Buckingham*, and withdraws his former privacy of conference with him: And first delays, and then denies to perform the pact and agreement so solemnly before concluded betwixt them, yet publickly washes his face in every Company, with all shews of Court Holy Water; which the Duke wisely observing (one formerly sufficiently acquainted with his disposition) thinking it far better to be the enjoyer but of a small Loaf, then to have no Bread, plays with the King at his own Weapon: At *Glocester* taketh occasion, with outward shew of all formal respect and former Integrity, to take his leave of the King, and so departed the Court. But they had no sooner severed themselves, but ease began to observe the others behaviour, and by means of interlopers, they were known to Misconstrue and Misinterpret each others Words and Actions, so that the knot of Familiarity formerly United in Treachery, was now easily dissolved by Jealousie; which was the sooner brought about by this occasion: After the Dukes arrival at his Castle of *Breaknock*, he sent for his Prisoner *Morton*, Bishop of *Ely*, whom he familiarly entertained, and from time to time continued such his kind and respective entertainment toward him, which the wise Bishop observing, and withal noting the Dukes haughty Heart, and ambitious haughtiness, he thought it good discretion from thence to take his hint, to make his Wisdom the means of his own deliverance, though with the Dukes destruction: for the Bishop besides his profound learning, having often, and by alternate proof of prosperity and adversity, gotten experience (the Mother and Mistress of Wisdom) and thereby could discern the passages of politick and cunning contrivements, perceiving the Duke so overforward to cope with his conversation, that he would



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omit no place or time convenient, but he would express himself in a most affectionate manner to be most desirous to enjoy it; the Bishop at times of conference would so order his Communication, that he seemed rather to follow, than lead the Duke into any discourse, which either concerned the Commendation of *Henry* the sixth, or *Edward* the fourth; and would therein so temper his speech, that he would not deliver further or more, than what he was assured the Duke could not well contradict; but ever modestly, without either arrogating or derogating to the Honour of the one or other: But if at any time any passage in their talk intervened, that might any way reflect upon the now King, he would make sudden stops, saying, he had been formerly too forgetful that way, and had waded too far in Relation of Occurrences in the World, more then did become his Coat, but now he was resolved to leave those courses, and wholly to apply himself to his Books and Beads, and Meditate on the next World. Nevertheless, the Duke after many protestations of secrecy, importuned the Bishop but to express his opinion of the condition of King *Richard*, and the validity of his Title to the Crown of *England*, telling him withal, that he was resolved to entreat (and presumed he should obtain it) his faithful and Secret Counsel in a business that nearly concerned him, as one upon whose Religious Honesty, and every way sufficiency, he would altogether rely: Adding further, that to that end he had procured leave from the then Protector, to have the Bishop committed to his courtesie, whereby he might with the more conveniency and safety confer with him thereabouts; and the Bishop might be assured of more safety and respect than in another place. The Bishop gave him many thanks for this his undeserved favour, desiring the continuance of them, but withall told him, that Princes were like fire, howsoever at a distance they gave warmth, yet kill they would burn the lips: And therefore, saith he, I love not to talk of them, as being a thing not altogether out of danger. For though the words in themselves deserve no reprehension, yet are they ever subject to other mens misconstruction, or misinterpretation; and seldom, if at any time pass according to the intention and meaning of the Speaker, but as they are taken. But this added more Oyl to the Flame of the Dukes desire, to be resolved of the Bishops verdict, of the before-past proceedings, and his Judgment of Occurrences to follow: and the more cautious the Bishop was in his Relations, the more eager and earnest was the Duke to be thoroughly informed of both; and at length he prevailed with his importunity so far, that one Evening after Supper sitting privately together, the Duke having engaged his Honour, as Swearing by his *George*, and his Soul, by calling his Maker to Witness, that whatsoever at that time the Bishop should deliver unto him, should for ever be Buried in silence, and never go further.

The Bishop stood off no longer, but demonstrated at large, that the late Protectors proceedings were incommendable, his Ambition unsufferable, his Bloody designs intolerable, his Usurped Government Tyrannical, and the Honour and quiet of the Kingdom in apparent jeopardy: And then with great earnestness of Speech and gesture, he further said; Royal Sir, I adjure you by the faith you owe to God, by the Honourable respect you bear to your Progeny, by your Oath made to Saint *George*, the Patron of that Honourable Order of the Garter, whereof

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whereof you are a deserving companion, by the true affection you carry to your native Countrey, and your due love to vertue and integrity, be not averſe, but bravely ſecond that fair and honeſt courſe that I ſhall propoſe unto your Grace : For thereby Tyrannous Uſurpation may be ſuppreſſed, juſtice advanced, and future peace everlaſtingly eſta- bliſhed, which God of his infinite bounty will vouchſafe to accompliſh, if you will, with what convenient ſpeed you may, procure or provide a fit and undiſparageable match, for the Eldeſt Daughter of King *Edward* our late King. And if with poſſibility it may be obtained, let him be ſuch a Perſon as may reunite the long ſince ſepered bearings of the red Roſe and the white ; then will all intestine broyls be pacified, and every one ſhall freely enjoy the happy benefit of this now ſo much deſired bleſ- ſed concord.

This ſpeech was not ſo ſoon ended, but the Duke elevating his eyes to Heaven, put off his Cap, and ſaid, To thee, O Heavenly Father, ſole giver of every good and perfect gift, from the Altar of my humbleſt Heart I render all poſſible Praise and Thanks, for that thou haſt given a- bility through thy gracious Spirit to this thy Servant, to invent a fair means whereby thy glory may be propagated, innocency preſerved, and inhumanity puniſhed, the good and quiet of thy People procured, and every true Patriot have Juſt Cauſe to rejoyce in thee : And then putting on his Cap again, he ſaid to the Biſhop, At what time my Brother-in- law ( for I preſume it is not unknown to you, that King *Edward* and I did marry two Siſters ) left this life, I began to revolve with my ſelf, how little reſpect or favour (after ſuch my marriage) I had received at his hands, notwithstanding any ſo near affinity, beſides propenſion of love, to do him all acceptable Service, and his little humanity ſhewn to me, made me as little reckon of him, and leſs of his Children : Then the old Proverb coming into my mind, that the Realm often rueth, where Children Reign, and Women bear ſway ; I could not but be perſwaded, that much Miſchief and Perturbation would betide the whole Kingdom, if either the young King were ſuffered to ſway the Scepter, or the Queen mother to have the Government, and the rather, for that her Brothers and Children by a former Husband, although not extract of very ancient Nobility, aſſumed more unto themſelves in managing of the State af- fairs, then either the decaſed Kings Brethren, or any other Peer of the Realm ; whereupon to prevent a further Miſchief, I thought it very requiſite, both for the advancement of the Publick good, and my own particular Interdeſt to inſinuate and partake with the Duke of *Gloceſter*, whom I then reputed as free from Simulation or Diſſimulation, and as tractable without doing Injury, and juſt, without ſhewing cruelty, as now to my ſhame I may ſpeak it, and to my grief I have proved him to be a perjured diſſempler, and a pittileſs Tyrant ; and thereupon I ſided with *Gloceſter*, and by my ſole labour and induſtry ( without the leaſt ſuſpition, I proteſt, of what after happened ) he was at the firſt Councel held, after the Death of King *Edward*, procured (as partly you my Lord Biſhop know ) to be made Protector both of King and King- dom, whereunto he had no ſooner attained, but by like Policy he got into his Cuſtody his two innocent Nephews, the King and the Duke of *York*.

Then he begins to ſolicite me, and ſometimes by entreaties he en- deavoureth



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devoureth to perswade, and then again with minatory words to enforce me, and the Lords present, (by constraint as it were) to permit him to take upon him the Execution of the Regal State and Government of this Kingdom, until the young King were ripe, and able to undergo the burden thereof, and bear the load upon his own shoulders; at leastwise until he should attain to the Age of Four and Twenty years; which project of his, in regard the example was without president; and that would be as strange, if not more, to have an ambitious mind to dismante himself of a place of that eminent power of command once obtained, as for him at that instant to effect it; I seemed not well to relish it, and the rather, for that I found by the countenance of all there present, he was as then unprovided for Seconds at the Table to back his proposition. He thereupon not altogether unfurnisht of his baits to fish with, to give some colourable pretext of reason for what he had moved, he produced many seeming Authentick Instruments and resolutions, upon depositions of credible witnesses, subscribed by the Civilians and Canonists, the most famous in these times for Judgment and Learning, by whom it was resolved, and so adjudged, that the Children of *Edward* the Fourth were to be reputed illegitimate, and no way capable of the inheritance of the Crown; which overture then (unfainedly I speak it) I thought as real and true, as now I know the Deponents names were counterfeited, and the whole business forged.

These depositions and resolutions thus by him produced, were read, and thoroughly by us, at the Councel-table debated, and long discussed upon, until the Protector himself stood up and said, My Lords, as on the one part I and your Lordships are most willing that King *Edwards* Children should receive no injury; so on the other side, I beseech you, do not you be the occasion that I suffer apparent wrong. For this point being thus cleared, that my Brothers Sons are not inheritable, behold me the unquestionable and undoubted Heir of *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, my Deceased, but dear Father, who was by Authority of the Parliament adjudged, and so proclaimed lawful Heir of the Crown of *England*; whereupon we silly seduced men, thinking all had been Gospel that had been delivered, gave consent, that in regard the Duke of *Clarence* his Son, by reason of the former attainder of the Father, besides the obtruded illegitimation of him too, was likewise disabled to carry the inheritance, to accept of the Bramble for our King and Sovereign Lord; the which I was rather induced to do, by how much he had often with Solemn protestations, both publick and private, given me his faithful promise, that the two young Infants should no way be abused, but that they should have sufficient assurance for maintenance, such as I and the rest of the Nobility should well like and approve of; which how well he hath performed, judg you, when he was no sooner, by my procurement, from a private person made Protector, and from a subject sole Sovereign, but he cast the Ladder by, by which he had climbed to this preferment, changing his manners with his Honours; and not only denied me to enjoy the liberty of my undoubted right, as touching the Earldom of *Hertford*, unjustly detained from me by his Predecessor King *Edward* (and which at our first conference about these proceedings, this *Richard* with many execrable Oaths promised had assured me) but kept touch in nothing with me of what was formerly concluded betwixt us: But in lieu thereof I

was

was entertained with flouts and uncourteous language, giving out as though I had never furthered, but rather hindred his most weighty designs; yet this foul ingratitude, and his undeserved unkindness, I patiently for a season under-went. But when I had received certain notice of the unnatural murder of his two natural nephews, I was so transported with scorn and indignation, that I had very much to do to temper my passion from publick revenge of their death and my own disgrace, in his own Court, until weighing the doubtfulness of the event, I deemed it the safest way, with patience to wait a fitter opportunity, and in the mean time to take out a copy of his dissimulation, and that I might with the more safety work upon his own seam, I framed my carriage and countenance at all times towards him in that manner, as though I knew no pipe to dance after but his, never crossing him in any point, nor seeming to dislike or distate (though much against my nature) any thing he moved or did. And by this means I obtained liberty to retire my self to this place. But in my journey homewards, by the way, I had many strong conflicts in my mind, which way to begin to work, that I might make this Usurper to acknowledge his error, and to pull off the lions skin from his hog-like back.

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First, I thought with my self that there was a fair path beaten for me (he being now by the murder of his tender Nephews grown despicable to God and all good men) to lay hold of the Garland, in regard there was not one whom I could then call to remembrance, either of power or pretence sufficient to debar me from enjoying it, being no way unprovided of means, Men or Money for employment: And in this conceit I continued a while, until that afterwards it came into my mind, that to come in by way of conquest would prove both hard and hazardous, in regard that most of the Nobility and Gentlemen would oppose me therein, if for no other end or reason, but only for the preservation of their Tenures and Titles, which in a Conquerors hands are liable to his disposal. And then and there that embrious conceit of Conquering continued so formless.

Then my fancy suggested to me, that the Lord *Edmond Duke of Somerset*, my Grand-father, was within two degrees lineally descended from *John of Gaunt*, for *Edmond Beauford*, Earl *Mortimer* was Son of *John*, surnamed *Beauford* of *Beauford* in *France*, which came to the House of *Lancaster*, by *Blanch* of *Artoyes*, Wife to *Edmond* first Earl of *Lancaster*, Son of *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*. That my Mother being his Eldest Daughter, I was next Heir to *Henry* the sixth: And hereupon I set up my rest, thereon to lay a Foundation whereupon to erect my Building. But as God would have it, whilst my brains were bafle, and as I rode debating with my self, how to the best advantage I might set my engins going, betwixt *Worcester* and *Bridgenorth*, I accidentally encountred *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond*, the true and only Heir of my Grand-fathers Elder Brother, *John Duke of Somerset*, who Married *Margaret*, Daughter and Heir of *Sir John Beauchamp* of *Blesso*, Knight, by whom he had Issue one only Daughter, *Margaret*, who Married *Edmond* of *Haddam* Son of *Owen Tudor* by Queen *Katherine*, and half Brother by the Mother to King *Henry* the sixth: but she was as absolutely forgotten by me, as if I had never seen or known her. Now she, and her Son *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, being both cut-work and Periculis betwixt me and that Port, which I must of necessity pass, if I should at any time attempt to enter into the Court Royal of



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of Majesty, my presupposed Title was in my imagination now scarce worth a Tittle. And herewithal calling to mind, that those unseparable dangers, unsupportable cares, and unsupportable troubles that necessarily await upon a Crown are so imminent and numerous, that no one; if he be but man, can with safety escape, well undergo, or with patience endure the least of many of them, except by lineal descent the Law do cast it upon him, or he be by Gods especial providence, as *David* was, preordained, or before appointed thereunto. And further, taking it into consideration, that if I once assumed unto my self the swaying of the Scepter, howsoever I might perchance be of ability sufficient to lay hold of it, yet on the one part I should be sure to find many foes, but few faithful friends, (who in this age are all for the most part gone on Pilgrimage, and their return is uncertain.) And on the other side, King *Edwards* Daughter, and their Allies, whose patience so infinitely abused, might incite some furious partakers, or my Cousin *Richmond*, with his friends and followers, or some discontented Lords (for it would be an impossible thing to give plenary content to all) would be ever snatching or snarling at me upon every the least occasion, and upon any advantage, so that in all likelihood my life and livelihood should be ever hanging but by a very slender thread, so that I should never be secure, but ever in danger of death or deposition; wherefore from thenceforth I concluded with my self, to banish out of my thoughts all airy-built Castles, to look after the Government of the Kingdom, either in my own right, or to my own use, and concluded watchfully to attend, if at any time it should please God to make me his instrument, to relieve the wronged, and to scourge the oppressour; now I am verily perswaded, that it is the good pleasure of the Almighty, to make this the means by which both may be to his Glory effected: for the Earl of *Richmond* to take to Wife *Elizabeth*, the Eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth (to bring which orderly to effect) neither my Person, Power or Purse shall be wanting, in respect that by this match, The two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, at this time so miserably disjoyned, may be brought to Unity and Conjunction. And whereas my Grand-father and Father did both lose their lives in abetting the side of *Lancaster*; I will now hazard mine, to conjoyn them both hand in hand.

Humphrey  
Duke of Buck-  
ingham slain at  
St. Albons,  
1455. Hum-  
phrey slain at  
Northampton,  
38. H. 6. 1460.

These words the Duke uttered with that vehement earnestness, that the good Bishop, and not without reason, was thorowly perswaded that it was as much the love of *Richmond*, as the hatred to *Richard*, that made him make this forward and friendly offer; and from thenceforth afterward he so condued his discourses with such powerful and significant words, and pevalent reasons, that he kept him firm and constant to his first proposition, insomuch that at length by this Bishops advise, and procurement of *Reignold Bray* (a Gentleman attending upon the Countess of *Richmond*) this whole Plot is discovered to the Dutches, and very well approved of by her; and presently from her, Doctor *Lewis* her Physitian, is employed to Queen *Elizabeth*, who still remained in Sanctuary at *Westminster*, to sound how she stood inclinable; who upon the first proposition, before she would express any thing to the Doctor, she prostrated her self upon her knees, and humbly invoked the Blessed Trinity to be propitious to this so much desired Unity; and then raising her self up, she did profess her self (next unto God) to be much bound to him, or her that first invented the means whereby to restore her poor Children to their

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right, and redeem her self from that thralldom and fear wherein now they were, and with great thanks returned the Doctor, wishing him to assure the contriver thereof whatsoever; that if Earl *Richmond* would take his corporal Oath, to espouse her Daughter *Elizabeth* or *Cicely*, in case it should please God *Elizabeth* should dye before that time, as soon as he had obtained the enjoyment of the Crown; That she would not only give hers, and get her Daughters consent to the match, but procure all the Friends and Allies of her deceased Husband King *Edward*, and her own, to take his part, and in all things to give him their best assistance.

The Mothers thus having expressed their intentions, to keep the Game on Foot, Doctor *Lewis* preferred to the Queen a Religious and Learned Priest, called *Christopher Vrswick* who, upon Oath taken for secrecy, was, as occasion should be offered, to be employed in these businesses, so that now *Bray* and *Vrswick*, do Travel only about home, whilst the Physitian, who might do it with most safety and less suspicion, negotiated in more remote places; first to sound, then to incite as many of the Nobility and Gentry as they should discover to be willing to give their assistance, but always with this caution, to offer to treat with none, without making Oath first for Truth and Secrecie.

In few days *Bray* had drawn into confederacy, Sir *Giles Dawbeney*, Sir *John Cheney*, *Richard Guildford*, and *Thomas Rame*, with some others.

*Vrswick* likewise for his share had prevailed with *Hugh Conoway*, *Thomas Culpepper*, *Thomas Rooper*, with some others; and in the mean time Doctor *Lewis* was not idle, but had won *Edward Courtney*, and his Brother *Peter*, Bishop of *Exeter*; among whom it was carefully agreed upon, that convenient Messengers should be speedily dispatched for *Britany*, to Earl *Richmond*, to acquaint him with the whole proceedings: For this purpose, by the contrivement of *Vrswick*, *Hugh Conoway* is employed from *Plimouth*, with great sums of Money.

*Thomas Rame*, by the advice of *Bray*, is with like instructions sent out of *Kent* by *Callice*, both which, within the space of little more than an hour, though divers ways, the one most part by Sea, the other most part by Land, came to the presence of the Earl, who graciously received them, and gladly embraced both the concord and condition.

The Earl acquaints the Duke of *Britany* both with the Plot and the confederation, earnestly imploring his advice and aid, which the Duke as readily promised, as really performed; howsoever *Hutton* Embassador from King *Richard*, had endeavoured to preoccupate the scene, and in his Masters name, had both by private Letters, and many proffers of much Money, and more courtesies, laboured the Duke for the Earls restraint, but to little or no purpose.

The Earl thus encouraged, returns *Conoway* and *Rame* by the same way they came, to give notice of his speedy repair, with ample instructions for the manner of preparation against his approach to be made; whereupon the Confederates in all places provide such as had Castles or Piles of strength, furnish them with men and Ammunition; and others use their best means; that Money and Men may be got in readines against the Earls arrival.

Bishop *Morton*, who had gained opportunity, against the Duke of *Buckingham* will to convey himself into the Low-Countries, is not slack, by Letters, and private Messages, to conjure all such as he knew either to hate



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hate or envy King *Richard*, or to have loved King *Edward*, to lay to their helping hands, with all their might in this conjuration.

Now, whether amongst so many, through some false Brothers Treachery, or out of his watchful Jealousie over *Buckingham*, it is uncertain. But King *Richard* hath Intelligence of the design, and politickly dissembleth it, but secretly giveth order, as it were to take a muster, to draw his forces together, amongst whom he suddenly comes, and having appointed his carriages to follow him, he marcheth away, without acquainting any of the Commanders with any particular place whither he led these Forces. In the mean time, first by proffer of friendship, by fair Terms, the King did sollicite the Dukes presence at *London*, where the King kept his standing house, but receiving from him but dilatory put offs, the King then sent a peremptory message, by the tie of his Allegiance to come away, which was returned with this resolute answer, That he would not (if he could avoid it) have any conversation with an ungrateful perjured inhuman Butcher of his own flesh and Blood; so that now preparation to offend and defend by the Sword, is made on both parts.

The King holds on his march, whereupon all the conjurators in every quarter, are in overt commotion. *Thomas* Marquess *Dorset* (preserved from slaughter by the only favour of Sir *Thomas Lovel*, against the Kings will) forsaketh Sanctuary, and in *York-shire* laboureth to raise Forces.

The two *Courtneys* in *Devon* and *Cornwall*, take the same course, and they are Seconded in *Kent* by *Guilford* and *Rame*, so that Civil combustion is in every quarter of the Realm. King *Richard* notwithstanding severs not his Forces, but keeps on his march towards *Buckingham*, who having notice thereof, both readily and willingly setteth forward, bending his Course thorow the Forrest of *Dean*, intending at *Glocester* to have passed *Severn*, and so to have joyned Forces with the two *Courtneys*, and the Western Confederates; but by the long continuance of wet weather, the Waters thereabouts were risen so high, that *Severn* was broken out, and had overflowed all the Countries, so that it was a thing impossible for the Dukes Forces to be transported, which the *Welsh-men* (drawn thither more for fear than love) took advantage of, laying it was a Prodigious token of their ill success in the enterprize, and secretly by Night slipt away from him, whose example the residue followed, so that the Duke upon this disbanding, was left to shift by himself; whereupon he dismiss all his followers, and without Page or Footman, repaired to the House of one *Humphry Bannister*, who dwelt near *Shrewsbury*, presuming there he might safely lodge in obscurity, until better fortune should smile, the rather for that the many extraordinary favours formerly done to the said *Bannister*, and his Father before him, might justly challenge willing entertainment, during his secret stay there, if not more.

The news of this disaster added wings to the other conjurators to disperse their powers and flie, some to sanctuary, others to unknown places, all of them making the best shift they could to escape: but they sped best which conveyed themselves into *Brittany*; amongst whom the Marquess *Dorset*, *John* Lord *Wells*, the Bishop of *Exeter*, and his Brother: Sir *John Bourcher*, Sir *Edmond Woodville*, Brother to Queen *Elizabeth*, Sir *Robert Willoughby*. Sir *Giles Daubeney*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, Sir *John Cheyney*, and his two Brethren; Sir *William Barkley*, Sir *William Brandon*, and his Brother *Thomas*; Sir *Richard Egmond*, *Hollowel* and *Poynings*, Captains, were chief

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King *Richard* having intelligence that the enemy was fled, sent order presently to lay the Ports, with strict charge, that none should go on board, or come on shore, without especial warrant.

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He likewise made publick Proclamation, that if any one could bring ridings of the Duke of *Buckingham* (who was now proclaimed Traitour, and all his lands and goods seized into the Kings hands) so that the Duke might be apprehended; if the person were a bondman, he should be manumitted; if a freeman, he should have a general pardon, and a thousand pound current English coin.

Whilst these things are thus in agitation, King *Richard* hath information from *Hutton* his Lieger Embassador in *Brittain*, That the Duke thereof, not only refused to keep the Earl of *Richmond* in restraint of liberty; But was seeming forward, to give him his assistance to prosecute his intendment, which was to work some exploit in *England*. Wherefore the King took especial order for the present rigging and preparing his Navy, to stop, if possible, the Earls landing in any Port of *England*.

In the *interim*, whether fear to offend the law, or greedy covetousness to gain the thousand pounds, it is yet disputable, but *Bannister* like an ungrateful servant perfidiously discovered his Master, the Duke of *Buckingham*, to *John Mutton*, then high Sheriff of *Shropshire*, who thereupon apprehended him in a little Grove near *Bannisters* dwelling-house, and conveyed him to *Shrewsbury*, where King *Richard* lay, from whence upon All-Souls day, he was conveyed to *Salisbury*, and then and there without arraignment or legal proceedings, in the Market-place beheaded.

Whether *Bannister* received his proclaimed reward, is uncertain; but that Gods judgments appeared afterwards against him, and his is very remarkable, for he was afterwards hanged for man-slaughter, his eldest daughter is debauched by one of his Carters, and his Son and heir in a desperate lunacy became his own Butcher, and was so found by the Coroners Inquest.

This *Henry* Duke of *Buckingham* was Earl of *Stafford*, *Hereford*, *Northampton*, Lord of *Brecknocke*, *Kimbolton*, and *Tunbridge*, and high Constable of *England*.

He Married *Katherine*, daughter of *Richard Woodvile*, Earl *Rivers*, by whom he had issue three sons and two daughters.

1 *Edward*, who by *Henry* the seventh was restored to blood, and succeeded in his fathers honours.

2 *Henry*, whom the said King Created Earl of *Wilt.*

3 And *Humphrey* that died young.

1 *Elizabeth*, married to *Robert Radcliffe*, Lord *Fitz-waters*.

2 *Anna*, married first to Sir *Walter Herbert*, and afterwards *George* Lord *Hastings*, Earl of *Huntington*.

Upon the twelfth day of *October*, the Earl of *Richmond* with forty ships, and five thousand waged *Britons*, took the Seas; but that evening by the rage of an impetuous tempest, the whole Navy was dispersed; the ship wherein the Earl was, with one only little bark, after they had endured the rage of the tempest eight and forty hours, was driven upon the coast of *Cornwall*, where he giveth express commandment, that none should dare to take land, until the Fleet were drawn together.

But after he had hull'd up and down the shore by the space of a day and a night, and never a Vessel appearing, observing an hourly increase of armed



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armed souldiers upon the coasts by *Pool*, being assured they were none of his partakers, because no tokens before agreed upon at his approach to be used, were presented: The wind blowing a fresh gale, the Earl hoisted sail, and returning toward *France*, arrived in *Normandy*; from whence he dispatcheth messengers to the *French King*, *Charles* the eight, by whom he readily received a safe conduct, together with a liberal quantity of *French Crowns* to bear his Charges on the way, whereupon the Earl sent his Shipping about, whilst he by easie Journeys came by Land into *Britain*, where he received the news of the Duke of *Buckingham's* Death, and the dispersing of the Confederates Forces, which somewhat troubled him at first; but afterwards he was much Comforted, at the sight of the Marquess *Dorset*, and those brave Commanders that were come with him; and presently they enter into Consultation what course was to be taken in their beginning and Progress of the intended Action, amongst whom it was then generally concluded;

That King *Richard* as a Tyrant and a Traitor should be proscribed.

That *Richmond* should take upon him the Regal Dignity, then by *Richard* usurped.

That *Richmond* should publickly make a solemn protestation to take to wife the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of *Edward* the fourth.

That all the Nobles, Gentlemen, and others of the English Nation there present, should do Homage, and swear Allegiance to the Earl of *Richmond*, as to their Sovereign Lord; and each to other interchangeably give assurance upon the Seal of their salvation, alone, and together with others, to prosecute *Richard*, and to protect *Richmond*, to the expence of the last drop of blood in their Bodies, and the profusion of all their substances.

This thus concluded on, upon Christmas day before the high Altar, in the great Church of *Reims*; the Earl of *Richmond* gave oath to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, immediately after he was quietly seated in the government of *England*; And thereupon all the Lords and Knights there present (the Bishop of *Exeter* shewing them the way) did do him Homage; and in the same place, each to other religiously did vow, taking the Sacrament thereupon, never to surcease prosecuting war against *Richard* the Usurper, until his deposition or destruction.

Relation hereof being made to the Duke of *Britain*, he voluntarily made offer to furnish the Earl with all things necessary to the enterprize, and all things are accordingly providing in those parts, whilst King *Richard* makes a diligent enquiry after all those that might be suspected to be favourers or furtherers of *Richmond's* Association; many of them are apprehended, amongst whom Sir *George Brown*, and Sir *Roger Clifford*, with four Gentlemen more, are executed at *London*.

Sir *Thomas Sentleger*, who had married *Ann*, the Duke of *Exceter's* widow, the Kings own Sister, and *Thomas Raine*, Esquire, were executed at *Exeter*. And at an Affizes held at *Torrington*, for the County of *Devon*, *Thomas Marquess Dorset*, and all such as were with the Earl of *Richmond*, were indicted of high Treason, and at the Parliament which presently followed, all those so indicted, were attainted, and all their lands and goods seized upon.

*Thomas Lord Stanley* is enforced to purge himself by oath, and to swear that he was then altogether innocent of any treacherous practise against the King, and unacquainted with any his Wives courses, touching the succouring

succouring her Son : yet nevertheless, he is commanded to keep her close, and not to suffer any to have liberty, to write to, or confer with her.

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A truce is concluded betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, to continue for three years ; and for the better settling of amity and concord betwixt the two Kingdoms, a Marriage is treated of, betwixt the Duke of *Rothsay*, the King of *Scots* Eldest Son, and the Lady *Anne de-la-Poole*, King *Richards* Sisters Daughter, formerly Married to *John de-la-Poole*, Duke of *Suffolk*.

*John* Earl of *Lincoln*, the said *Annes* Brother, King *Richards* Nephew, is likewise (the Daughters of *Edward* the fourth being excluded) proclaimed Heir of the Crown of *England*.

Suspition seldom but slumbers, never sleeps ; and a Guilty Conscience is evermore broad-waking. The Jealousie of *Richmonds* Title, and the horror of King *Richards* Conscience, for the Murther of his two Innocent Nephews, so justly affright him, that his sleeps are ever more interrupted with fearful dreams ; insomuch, that he did often leap out of his Bed in the dark, and catching his Sword (which always naked stuck by his Bed side) he would go distractedly about the Chamber, every where seeking to find out the cause of his own occasioned disquiet ; and in the day time he always would hold his hand upon his Ponyard, as though he would not be behind-hand, to requite the stroke of a Sword with a stab, his Brains were still working, and his cogitations hammering out strange stratagems for *Mas-facres*.

There must be no Stone left unremoved, whereupon *Richmond* might have footing : Embassadors are sent to the Duke of *Britain* with instructions, upon any terms to procure or purchase his Person to be delivered unto them : But the Duke by extremity of Sicknes was fallen into that weakness, that the Embassadors could have no audience. Whereupon they addressed themselves to *Peter Landoy*, Chief Treasurer to the Duke, and his great Favourite. They having found out the length of his foot, by the experience of other Mens success, that negotiated with him ; they so appointed him with Oyl of Angels, and large promises of the King of *Englands* ready willingness to make more ample satisfaction, for any courtesy therein by him to be done, that he resolutely undertaketh that the Kings pleasure shall be in that point procured. What moved this Treasurer, that at *St. Mallows* not long before, had countermined King *Richards* Engineers, and preserved the Earl from the danger of the Plot, that now he should undertake, to ingulph him in that quagmire, from whence so lately he had freed him, cannot easily be conjectured, except that the eminency of his place (far transcending his descent or desert) had brought him into the general hatred of those, whom either by his inward power with the Duke, he had any ways injured, (a course too common amongst those of like Condition and Quality) or otherwise, had not given that fulness of content, that was expected ; and thrust him into the contempt of his betters by Birth, that scorned to have such a Bubble to take place before them, or into the envy of all such that would, but could not obtain like favour and preferment, or into the hatred of the Commons, who seldom or never think, or speak well of Officers in like place, that purchase their Masters favours by filling Coffers, and emptying their Purses ; or that he could not devise a better means how to arm himself strongly against the Machinations and excursions of such incertain Enemies, but by the friend-



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ship and protection of so potent a Monarch, as the King of *England* was, the validity of whose Gold, and the power of whose Arm, might purchase or procure his Freedom or Safety, if at any time thereafter impeached.

Whilst the Treasurer is plotting and placing his Engines, to make delivery of the Merchandize, as afore bought and sold, God who always provideth for the deliverance out of danger for those that trust to him, had so appointed, that *Christopher Vrswick* is sent out of *Flanders*, from *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, (who by Gods especial care and providence, was ever mindful, and carefully watchful of the Earl *Richmonds* prosperous proceeding) to forewarn the Earl of the near and certain peril he was in, and to acquaint him both with the Plot, and the means to prevent it. The Earl quickly resenteth it, and presently dispatcheth *Vrswick* to the *French* King, to crave the continuance of his gracious favour, and again to grant him safe passage thorow his Dominions. *Vrswick* was no sooner gone on his way, but the Earl (making no more, than needs must, acquainted with his intention) having procured a Guide, by unfrequented ways, to conduct him into *France*, gave private Directions to the Earl of *Pembrook*, to make an overture, to draw his Forces towards the Duke of *Brittain* (who by this time had been somewhat Recovered of his Malady, and was retired to take the Air, near the Borders of *France*) that he (as though so by him desired) might make view of them. But as soon as ever they came near any the confines of *France*, he should with all convenient speed, make entrance thereinto, and attend further Directions. The Earl of *Pembrook* punctually followed his Directions, and safely arrived in the Duchy of *Anjou*, where they made their rendezvous. *Richmond* with only five in his Company, himself disguised like an ordinary Serving-man through Woods and By-ways, came to *Angeirs*, whither some of his retinue were gotten before, and attended his coming. From thence he writeth to the Duke of *Brittain*, excusing his so sudden and unmannerly departure, occasioned through his certain danger, (if not thus avoyded) by the Plot afore-said.

Somew days after his departure, the Treasurer with a selected company of Souldier, under the conduct of *John Vitry* (*Landoys* his only Creature and Counsellour, who gave forth by the way, that these men were waged for the aid of the Earl of *Richmond*; and to that purpose had *Vitry* formerly written to the Earl) came to *Vans*, where hearing of the Earl's sudden departure, he sent out his Vaunt-curriers into every quarter, to apprehend and stay him; but they lost their Labours.

Sir *Edward Woodvile*, and Captain *Poynings*, with their Companies, being left behind in *Vans*, had been in great hazzard to have been distressed, but their discreet Behaviour, both then and before, had gotten a good opinion amongst the Townsmen, that they quietly permitted their stay amongst them, until they had informed the Duke by the means of the Chancellour, who was their friend and *Landoys*'s Antagonist, of their estate, who much displeased with the harsh usage of the Earl, by *Landoys*, out of a Noble and commendable disposition, furnished them not only with Money to discharge their debts in the Town, but also with carriages, and all necessaries for their orderly accommodation in their march to the Earl of *Richmond*: whither with a safe conduct he sent them, where they safely arrived.

The Earl returns thanks to the Duke, and with an authentical Instrument,

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ment, whereby the Earl, and all the Gentlemen present, had subscribed to the repayment of the Money lent, and satisfaction of all things else, by those Companys received, sends him a more ample and perfect remonstrance of the Treasurers treachery, which afterwards gave just occasion to the Duke of Britains Kindred (who were by Decree of the King, and all the Peers of France, in regard of the Dukes infirmity, to manage the affairs of the Dutchy) to question *Landboys* for that, and other over-bold Actions of his, to his after-overthrow: For he and his Favourite *John Vitry*, (upon the just complaint of the Chancellour, and the unappeasable fury of the enraged multitude) had their process legally made against them, and were accordingly hanged.

The Earl of *Richmond* admitted to the presence of the *French King*, acquaints him with his intention, and laying claim to the Crown of *England*, and his means of prosecution thereof, and requesteth his amity and assistance. Both which King *Charles* faithfully promised, and as effectually performed, to his great honour.

In the *interim*, *Richmond* and his retinue, are honourably entertained, and bountifully feasted in the *French Court*, and many proffers of matches to the young *English* Batchelors there made, but none succeeded.

Whilst the Earl is thus attending in the *French Court*, *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, who had long been Prisoner in the Castle of *Hams*, had so prevalently perswaded with *James Blunt*, Captain of the Fortres, and Sir *John Fortescue*, Porter of the Town of *Callice*, that they not only gave him leave to take his own liberty, but accompanied him to the Earl of *Richmond*, of whom they are joyfully welcomed; and to him Captain *Blunt* gives assurance, that the Fortres did remain only at his devotion.

To the Earl at this time there resorted divers young Gentlemen, that were students, in the University of *Paris*, proffering him their service; amongst whom was *Richard Fox*, at that time very famous for good Clerkship, and fair carriage, to whom the Earl then gave entertainment, and then advised with him in all his affairs, but afterwards upon proof of his good abilities, he made him one of his most privy Council.

King *Richard* being informed, that his Chapmen could not compass his so much desired Merchandize in *Britain*, and that *Richmond* was safe, and fairly entertained in the *French Kings Court*, he resolved not to leave any thing undone, how vile and nefarious soever, that might further him to defeat his Adversary. And being perswaded, that he could by any means Anticipate the Earl from matching with his Neece *Elizabeth*; and being so fleshed in Villany, that Custom in him had taken away all sense of sinning: this downright Instrument of the Devil; resolveth to rid his Hands of *Anne* his Queen, and as it were to win the prize from all precedent Tyrants, in being Guiltless of no Impiety; he attempteth the Marriage of his Neece, his Queen being yet living. But she, good Lady, shall be quickly made sure enough from hindring his despicable design, in joyning Incest to Murther. And thus resolved, cloaking his Wolvish condition under the vail of Innocent well-meaning, this Monster of men, backed by the Devil, and his dissembling looks, endeavoureth to perswade the Queen of *England*, his Brothers Widow, that he most intirely affected her pleasure, and her Childrens preferment; and to obtain her good opinion, would not only pardon the Earl of *Dorset*, but promote him, and all their Kindred, to Honour and prime Offices of the Kingdom.



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So far he prevailed with this mear pittiful Queen, that she had quite forgotten the Murther of her Innocent Infants, the Butchering of her own Brother, Son, and Kinsfolks, the calumny of her Royal Husband, the aspersion of Adultery obtruded to her self, the imputation of Bastardy laid to her Daughters; and her firm faith plighted to the contrary to the Dutcheffs of *Richmond*, and the assurance thereby of her elder Daughters perferment, upon King *Richards* glozing speeches, was contented first to commit her Daughters to the custody of him that was Author and Actor of all these calumniationes and Cruelties; and afterwards by Letters Mandatory, to sollicite her Son the Marquess of *Dorset*, to desert the Earl of *Richmond*, and to incline to King *Richard*, who she assured him, had not only granted him his free and general Pardon, but had provided honourably to prefer him upon his return.

This done, King *Richard* with great Solemnity, and formal shew of extraordinary affections (the surest Ginnes to catch Women and Rattle-brains) entertaineth the abused Mother, and seduced Daughters: And presently takes order to make one Saint the more in Heaven, by sending his Wife thither before her time; but how or by what means, it is not made manifest.

She is with all Solemnity, which the shortness of time to prepare would permit, interred at Saint *Peters* Church in *Westminster*, where some few forced tears for a shew, are wrung from his eyes at the Funeral, whilst his thoughts are plotting, how to compass incestuous copulation with his own Brothers Daughter, whom he immoderately visiteth, and entertains with all varieties of pompous pleasures, as it were by such Musick, to prepare her affection the sooner to admit of his love-suit: But her harmless Innocency, not diving into his villanous purposes, takes all things from him as honourable courtesies.

Now only fear to lose that little good opinion which the common people had cast away upon him, induced thereunto by his late formal shew of repentance and Protestation of his hearty detestation of his former bloody course of life, did with-hold this monster of mankind, as yet to discover his beastly desire, which was, to purchase his pleasure by rape, if not otherwise procurable. But for that it behoved him to labour to prevent the growing storm, threatned from beyond the Seas, and to hinder the further growth of his enemies forces at home, against his will he prorogues the execution of his desires, and leaves love-matters until another season.

The Lord *Stanley* is commanded to levie all his forces for the Kings ayd, as he will justify his integrity to him; nevertheless, cannot be permitted to go down into his Countrey, until he had left *George* Lord *Strange*, his first begotten Son, as a sure pledge of his love and Loyalty, behind him.

The surrender of the Castle of *Hamme*s to the Earl of *Richmond* by Captain *Blount*, is come to the ears of King *Richard*, who presently giveth order to the Garrison of *Callice*, and the Forts adjoining, to reduce the same, which they accordingly attempted; but the Captain at his departure (having left his Wife therein) had sufficiently furnished it, to withstand any assault, until relief might with conveniency be sent unto it.

The Earl of *Richmond* having notice of the siege, sendeth the Earl of *Oxford*, with some Forces, to remove it, or relieve the besieged.

*Thomas Brandon*, a Servant of the Earl of *Oxford*, with thirty resolute Souldiers, find the means to enter into the Castle, carrying with them such Ammunition as was then most wanting, whilst the Earl of *Oxford* with his other Forces are marching thither, upon notice whereof, the *Callicians* offer'd the

the besieged, that if they would surrender the Castle, all that were within it, should have fair and noble quarter, with free liberty to depart, with Bag and Baggage, which was accordingly readily embraced, being the only end of the Earl of *Oxfords* journey, which was to redeem his friends, in especial the Gentlewomen in the Castle, out of danger. And then leaving the Castle clean Bare, without either men, Ammunition or Ordnance, they retreated in safety to the Earl of *Richmond*.

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The ships which King *Richard* had appointed to guard the Seas, to debar the Earls passage, (he having been informed, though untruly, that *Richmond* was hapless and hopeless of help from the French King) are called home, and all the Souldiers discharged, only order given for the diligent watching the Beacons.

*Thomas* Marquess *Dorset*, to give the better colour to the report of *Richmonds* backwardness to do any thing suddenly, and not induced thereto by his Mothers solicitation, maketh a shew to forsake *Richmond*, and conveyeth himself towards *Flanders*, but by the way is overtaken by *Humphrey Cheney*, who was appointed to follow him, and was not only perswaded to return, but to remain hostage with Sir *John Bourchier* for security of performing the Articles concluded on, betwixt the Earl of *Richmond*, and divers his friends in *France*, and for the repayment of sundry Sums of Money by *Richmond*, for this expedition, borrowed.

But report being come into *Britain*, that the Usurper laboured the speedy making up of a match betwixt him and the Lady *Elizabeth*, and had likewise prepared and proposed an Husband for her Sister *Cicely*; there was too little time left to be employed for longer consultation what more to do, or further expectation of aid how to do; For experience did manifest it, that the longer they stayed, every day the less ready they were, for either Victuall or other provision grew slowre or stinking, and every hour would grow worse and worse: And that all the Passages and Ports were so stopped and guarded, that it was a thing almost impossible to send or receive any further intelligence out of *England*, which was the more demonstrated by the certain relation of *Morgan Kidwelly*, a student of the Common Law of *England*, who with great hazard had brought Information to the Earl, that *Rice ap Thomas* and *John Savage*, two approved Commanders, and most powerful in their own Country, were ready with all the Forces they could make, to abet his course upon his first landing, though with hazard of their lives; and that his trusty Friend *Reignold Bray* was ready provided of Money and all other necessities, to furnish *Richmonds* necessities, and only awaited his approach; and for the reasons aforesaid, advised him to steer his course for *Wales*, and further, from them adjured him to make all possible festination, assuring him that nothing could procure better speed, then present expedition; whereupon *Richmond* with not much above two thousand stipendaries, and but convenient Bottoms to transfret them, about the middle of *August* following, put to Sea, and on the seventh day after their departure from *Harflew*, they arrived at *Milford* haven, where, without trouble or impeachment, he landed his forces; and from thence peaceably marched to *Hereford*, where by the Inhabitants there he was joyfully received.

A common report is raised, that *Rice ap Thomas*, and *John Savage* stood out for King *Richard*, which gave some occasion of mistrust to *Richmond*; but the trouble was lessened when he was resolved by Captain *Ar-*



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*old Butler*, that the Earl of *Pembroke* with all his retinue were upon the way to joyn with the Earl of *Richmond*.

*Richard Griffith* likewise with a band of brave Welsh-men, and *John Morgan* with the like number, increased Earl *Henry's* Forces, who with them fairly and easily marched towards *Shrewsbury*.

The Earls skowts bring in word, that *Sir Robert Harbert* and *Rice ap Thomas*, were ready with a great power to stop his passage; whereupon he dispatched Messengers with Letters to his Mother and Friends, to certify them of all occurrences since his safe arrival, and to acquaint them with his intention to pass *Severn* at *Shrewsbury*, and from thence to march directly for *London*; and then prepares himself for the encounter: And in his march is saluted by *Rice ap Thomas*, who with a valiant crew of Souldiers offers their service, so as Earl *Henry* will pledg his faith to perform his promise formerly intimated by Letter, which was, that after he had obtained the Crown, *Richmond* should make and appoint *Rice* sole Governor of *Wales*; which was assented unto, and accordingly afterwards performed.

*Sir Gilbert Talbot* that evening, with all the Earl of *Shrewsbury's* tenants, the Earl himself being the Kings Ward, with about two thousand well appointed men, came and joyned with *Richmond*.

The Lord *Stanley* in the way with 5000 men, had taken his lodging at the Town of *Leicester*; but hearing of Earl *Henry's* march that way, he quit the Town, and went to *Adderton*, where he quartered his men.

King *Richard* all this time lay at *Nottingham*, flighting any Intelligence that was given him of the Earl of *Richmond's* proceedings, and as it were contemning their weakness, would often ask the Courtiers, what they thought a poor Company of Fugitive Raskals were able to do to impeach his pleasure.

Although at first he did neglect to stop their proceedings, yet when he understood that those forces, which he had appointed to impeach their passage, had not only suffered them uninterrupted to pass, but were now joyned unto Earl *Henry*; King *Richard* began, when it was somewhat with the latest, to look about him, posted directions to the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Surrey*, with *Sir Thomas Brackenbury* the Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*, and some others his well-willers, with all speed, and forces possible, to repair unto him to *Lutterworth*. King *Richard* is informed by his Vaunt-curriers, that *Richmond* was encamped at *Lichfield*, and from thence would remove to *Leicester*, wherefore he upon the arrival of his power, marched towards his Enemies.

The Earl of *Richmond* likewise with his forces make towards *Tamworth*, and by the way is encountred by *Sir Walter Hungerford*, and some others, who had that night withdrawn themselves from King *Richards* part; and they gave *Richmond* true information, both of the number and order of King *Richard's* Army.

The Earl of *Richmond* here upon by night, secretly repayreth to his Father-in-Law, the Lord *Stanley*, with whom and his Brother, having consulted of those things that might conduce most to his better proceedings, he returneth (but not without some hazard) to his Company, which he found much increased and encouraged by the accession of *Sir John Savage*, *Sir Bryan Stanford*, and *Sir Simon Digby*, with their several Companies of valiant and expert Souldiers.

King

King *Richard* took the advantage of a large plain, a commodious place near *Bosworth*, adjoining to a Hill called *Anne Beame*, where he encamped; and observing by his Adversaries manner of approach, that they were prepared to give him Battle, he the next Morning drew his Forces with what convenient speed he could out of the Camp, and put them in Order.

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The Foreward, that wasled by the Duke of *Norfolk*, which consisted of one thousand two hundred Bow-men, flanked with two hundred Curasfeirs, under the conduct of the Earl of *Surrey*: The Battle King *Richard* led in person, which consisted of a thousand Bill-men empaed with two thousand Pike.

The Rereguard was led by Sir *Thomas Brackenbury*, consisting of two thousand mingled weapons, with two wings of Horse-men, containing fifteen hundred, all of them cast into square manuples, still expecting the Lord *Stanleys* presence, who with two thousand, most of them Horse-men, were not set out of their quarter, when the forlorn-hope of the Earl of *Richmond* had begun to skirmish; the Foot-men, under the leading of Sir *William Stanley*, being upon their March, were enforced, as he pretended, to avoid a Myry Bog that lay betwixt them and the King, and to avoid the danger of being charged before they should have opportunity to joyn with him, to fetch a compass about, by that means, casting a mist before the Kings eyes; that he might not palpably perceive their intention, to give assistance to the Earl of *Richmond*: For if that should have been discovered, it might have cost the Life of little *George Stanley*.

The Earl of *Richmond*, very early in the Morning, had sent unto his Father-in-Law, desiring his present repair; and the rather for that he wanted his more able direction to deraign his Battle: But he was answered from him, that no aid or direction must be expected from him, more than that he advised him, with all possible speed to give the onset, and after the Battle should be joyned, he and his Brother would second the Battle. Earl *Henry* somewhat staggering at the first, at the answer, made a vertue of necessity, and took counsel of his own Commanders; And by their advice, because the weakness of their Body should not be presently discerned (for their numbers did but little exceed the half of the Kings) their Voward was made very open and thin, of which *John* Earl of *Oxford* had the leading; the Earl of *Richmond* in person led the Battle, Sir *Gilbert Talbot* commanding the right wing, and Sir *John Savage* the left; whose souldiers being all alike clad, in white coats of Cloth or Frize, and hoods of the same, by the reflection of the Sun upon them, made them appear in the view of their Adversaries double their number. The Rereguard was governed by the Earl of *Pembrook*, which consisted most of Horse, and some Pike, and black Bills.

King *Richard* having drawn his chief Leaders about him, and placing himself in that manner, as that he might be the better heard, saith;

My faithful Friends, and fellow Souldiers, you, by whose true policy I at first obtained, and by whose as true prowess I have hitherto defended my Crown, mauger all the Rebellious Machinations, and tumultuary Seditions of my so many Adversaries: you, by whose Prudence and provident circumspection nothing that might further the prosperity of this Kingdom, hath been omitted; nothing that might impeach or impair the honour



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nour of it, hath been committed; so that without adulation I may say it, by your only advice, I am what I am: And if now by your aid and assistance I do not this day subsist, I shall not be so fortunate to enjoy, as I have been happy to obtain; but I am confident of your Loves and Loyalties, and thereupon set up my rest.

What should move this but half-cobled Souldiers, this linsie-woolsie Welsh-men with a Crew of poor-Rakehellme Runagates to attempt this to rob me of my Crown, and you of your Liberties and Lives, I know not, except the Devil owe his Ambitious Pride a shame, and hath brought him this day to your hands to receive his condign chastisement for it. The Beggery Britons, and faint-hearted French-men what further aim have they then to make prey on your Patrimonies, to abuse your Wives and Daughters, and to enrich themselves by your losses, and to extirpate your posterities?

For prevention of all which, let us this day but show our selves the inheritors of our Ancestors valours; and but fight like men, and you shall quickly make them run like Cravens, or dye like Dogs.

For my part, take the word of your Prince, I am thorowly resolved, either this day to be a Conquerour, or else to lose my life in quest of victory: And so Saint George, let us charge with courage.

But these words were not powerful enough to work any great effect in the hearts of the Souldiers, by reason they were delivered not with that alacrity of Spirit he was wont, but in a strained composure of his countenance, as being dejected by the remembrance of his Horrid dreams which the gnawing of his Conscience had suggested in his sleep that night, which made it appear that he had no great hope to prevail, whatsoever he said, or shewed.

The Earl of *Richmond*, unwilling to be behind hand, in orderly direction, made unto his men this exhortation.

*Richmond's  
Exhortation.*

If ever God gave victory to his Servants fighting in a just quarrel, or gave aid to those that endeavoured the well-fare of the Common-wealth, or gave a Blessing to such as laboured the suppression of a Tyrannous Usurper, the vindication of Innocent Blood-shedding, or the just punishment of fratricide, and most execrable Treason:

We need not then (dear Countrey-men and my kind Companions in Arms) make any doubt, but that he will be pleased this day to give us a glorious victory, and give us just occasion to Triumph in the Conquest over this Usurping Blood-sucker.

It is not (I presume) unknown to any one of you, that our cause is just, for he, against whom we oppose (that wrongfully stileth himself King) unjustly detaineth from me the Scepter of this Kingdom, which injustice was initiated with Blood, by the unnatural Murther of his Brother, Nephews, and nearest Allies, continued by Machivilian Plots, and sinister practises, to betray the Nobility and Gentry to the loss of their lives, the confiscation of their goods, seizure of their lands, dis-inheriting of their Children, and final extirpation of their families, as having no care of his conscience, neither reverencing God nor respecting man. Am not I and you (nay all the true-hearted Nobility of this Kingdom) woful Witnesses of this his so insupportable Tyranny? do we not every day and hour more and more sustain the wounds, contusions and dislocations, that this *Richard* by his Bloody Reign and Tyrannous Usurpation hath made in the Body of this Common-

Common-wealth, and shall we, part of her Members, as if not sensible of her disgraces, or injuries, sit still, and silently suffer the ravenous Bore of the Forrest to root up the sweet Vine of peace of this Kingdom, and prey upon our rightful inheritance? And as it were willingly lay down our Necks to carry the servile yoke of his imperious cruelty, and insolent usurpation? The Lord forbid.

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What are his associate confederates, but of like Feather, such as his bare donation without right or title wrongfully usurp; as he doth the Crown from me, so they your patrimony and unquestionable right from you and yours, without right or colour-like right.

Let us therefore pluck up our spirits, and setting all fear and diffidence apart, let us like faithful fellows, and loving friends, in Gods name, joyn hand and heart to quell this Monster of men, and either make in this days Action the date of our Life honourable, or the beginning of our victory Triumphant. And God who is the only giver of victory, will, I faithfully believe, look upon the justness of the cause, and give success accordingly unto us.

It is not multitude, but united hearts, for a just quarrel, that procures Conquest, and the God of glory can shew his power, through our weakness; the less our numbers, the more our renown, if we be Victors; and if we dye (as we all owe God a death) in this so well an intended action, neither rust of time, which devoureth all things else, nor any thing whatsoever, can debar us from a perpetuity of Life here on Earth after Death, and a Crown of everlasting Glory in Heaven.

This ingrateful wretch hath diffidence in all men, and who then can have confidence in him? Let us therefore like true *Heroes* against a Tyrant, Honest hearted men against a Traytor, and true Patriots against an Usurper; like free-Born undaunted spirits against the Monster of the Earth, both in birth and behaviour, being from his Infancy branded for a stigmatick, express our selves Noble, Honest, true hearted and Valiant: go forward then, advance our Colours, incite your courages, and in the name of God, cry, Saint *George* for *England*, and God, I doubt not, will give us his Blessing, and make the day ours. In assurance whereof, thus I plight you the faith of a friend; I will rather be found dead by fighting resolutely, than alive by flying ignominiously.

These words were with gesture of Body, and alacrity of spirit, so confidently delivered, that it drew from the hearers tears of joy, and put such resolution into their hearts, that they presently expressed the same in their present falling to handle their Arms, and by the way, to move, encourage, animate one another, to buy and vie for the Victory bravely, or to rate and sell their lives highly, dearly. And therewith advance, and giving a great shout, to shew their willingness, upon the first sight of the Enemy, let fly a volley of shafts so close and home, that King *Richards* Voward halted, though against their wills, to joyn, to be out of the danger of a second shower.

The Earl of *Oxford* was as ready for the encounter, and fearing to be disadvantaged by the thinness of his front, he gave the word, that no man should straggle but follow his leader, and commanded the frontiers not to advance further nor otherwise than he gave direction; by which discipline they were presently fain into a close Body, and so stood firm; in which time, Sir *William Stanley* had time to draw up his men likewise, to encrease the length of the Van; which gave them occasion on the other side, that were not well affected to the service, to slack their pace, and spare their bow-strings, which the Earl of *Oxford* well observing, being encouraged by the approvement of the



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the course, by the Lord Stanley, who was now come to the Foreward, and publickly profest himself to wish well to his Son-in-laws proceedings, gave on with a brave charge, and followed it so home, that the adverse part, not able (at least not willing) to endure the shock (for the cause of quarrel in a Souldier, encreaseth the courage, or abateth the edge of Resolution) gave Ground; which moved King Richard to bring on the main Battle, and with a desperate resolution entred so far into the Enemies Battle, that with his own hands he slew Sir William Brandon, Richmonds chief Standard-Bearer, and unhorsed Sir John Cheney, a Strong and Stout man at Arms. And at length, encountering with the Earl of Richmond, enterchanged some buffers. But Henry, aided by the divine help, and favoured with the uprightness of his cause, withstood Richards forceable assault. But whilst the Armies on both sides stood striving in a doubtful hazard who should win the prize, Sir William Stanley, with three thousand fresh Men, crying, Saint George, a Richmond, joyned with his Brothers Souldiers, and brake into King Richards Battle, who thereupon fled incontinently, leaving the King behind to make a Bloody catastrophe of his slaughterly Reign, who throughly enraged, furiously fighting without discretion or ability to prevail, he fell under the Sword of his Enemies.

The Rumor of his Death, and the Routing of the Battle, gave occasion to the Rereguard, commanded by Henry Earl of Northumberland, who rather wished than expected what did befall, to submit without striking stroke, whereby the victory fell to the Earl of Richmonds part, who upon certainty thereof, instantly in most Religious Devotion, gave order for publick thanksgiving to God for their happy preservation; and he himself that gave the precept, made himself the pattern therein: alighting from his Horse, and kneeling upon his knees, first privately to himself, and then publickly with the rest, gave Glory to his Maker.

There were not above one thousand slain on both sides, the chief of whom was John Duke of Norfolk, who was often warned, and much laboured that day to forbear the Field, in regard there was found written upon his Tent door;

Jack of Norfolk be not too bold;

For Dickon thy Master is bought and sold.

But what God had before appointed, could not be prevented.

This John Howard, was the Son of Sir Robert Howard, Knight; and Margaret Eldett Daughter and co-heir of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk; in whose right he was created Duke of Norfolk the five and twentieth day of June, in the year of our Lord, 1483.

He Married two Wives, the first was Katherine Daughter of William Lord Mullins; by whom he had issue, one Son and four Daughters.

Thomas, that succeeded him, and was created Earl of Surrey, in the first year of King Richard the Third, and was restored to grace, and made Lord Treasurer in the sixteenth year of Henry the Seventh; and

1. Anne, Married to Sir Edmond Gorge, Knight.

2. Isabell, Married to Robert Mortimer, of Essex, Knight.

3. Jane, Married to Thomas Tymperley, Esquire; and

4. Margaret, Married to John Windham of Cowthorpe in Norfolk, Knight.

This Dukes Second Wife, was Margaret, Daughter of Sir John Chadworth, Knight; by whom he had issue, Katherine, Married to John Bourchier, Lord Berners, and no more.

Walter

Walter Lord Ferrers, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and Sir Robert Brackenbury, Knights, with William Catesby, an Utterbarrister, with some others, were taken flying and shortly after Executed at *Leicester*.

Francis Viscount Lovel, and the two Staffords, escaped and took Sanctuary in S. Johns at *Glocester*.

Henry Earl of Northumberland, submitting himself, was not only pardoned, but received into favour, whilst Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey, eldest Son of John Duke of Norfolk, that then and there rendered himself, as the other did, to the Conquerors mercy, was committed close Prisoner in *Leicester*, and from thence sent to the Tower of *London*.

There were not on the Earl of Richmonds part above one hundred slain, the principal whereof was William Brandon.

This Battle was fought at *Rodner*, near *Bosworth*, the two and twentieth day of *August*, in the year of our Lord God 1486.

After publick thanksgiving was, as before prescribed, orderly and Religiously performed, Earl Henry gave order to search amongst the slain, for such as were but wounded, commanding those carefully to be drest, and the other to be with decency on both sides Buried.

The Body of King Richard being amongst the slaughtered carcases found, the whole Army gavel a general shout, and with loud acclamations of, Long Live King Henry, made the field eccho again.

The Lord Stanley having in his custody King Richard the Usurpers Crown, which amongst the spoiles his Souldiers had found and brought to him, placed the same on Earl Henry's Head, wherewith the Souldiers reiterated their joyfull Acclamations, making the fields rebound with, Long Live King Henry, of that name the Seventh; as if by their only suffrages he had been Elected and confirmed King of *England*.

Here with the tent-keepers of the Usurper came and submitted themselves to the Lord Stanley, and brought with them young George Strange, whom the Usurper upon the Lord Stanleys refusal, presently to draw down his Forces to joyn with him, had sworn (before he went to Dinner) by the Life of St. Paul, to have had Beheaded: but was perswaded by his Council, to forbear the Execution, until the Battle should be determined. Now being brought to the presence of his Father, the young Gentleman (being thereto by his Keepers instructed before) craved the help of his mediation to the King for their pardon, which was willingly undertaken, and as easily procured. From thence the Camp presently removed, and King Henry marched to the Town of *Leicester*, where for the more refreshing of his Men, and the better accommodation of himself for his Journey towards the City of *London*, he remained two days.

In the mean time, the Body of the Usurper, stark naked, all mangled and besmeared with Blood, and Dust, without so much as the least rag to cover his Privities, was trussed behind Blanch Senigleer, his own Pursivant of Armes, like Butchers-ware, his Head and his Arms hanging on the one side of the Horse, his Legs on the other, and so was brought to *Leicester*, where for a spectacle of hate and scorn, by the space of two days he lay bare and un-interred. At last, by the charity of the Gray Fryers there, without solemn Funeral pomp, scarce with ordinary solemnity, he was inhumed in their Monastery there: he Reigned two years, two Months, and one day.

This Richard Married Anne, second Daughter of Richard Nevill, commonly stiled, Great Earl of *Warwick*; by whom he had Issue, Edward, whom

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at twelve Months old he created Prince of *Wales*; but happily dyed before his Father.

This *Richard* was Born at *Fodringhay* Castle in *Northamptonshire*, the third Son of *Richard* Duke of *York*, younger Brother of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, by him Murdered in the Tower.

After the death of his Brother King *Edward* the Fourth, he procured himself to be made Protector and Guardian of his two Nephews; of whom he made himself the execrable Murtheter.

For a fuller expression of his Character, he was Born a Monster in Nature, with all his Teeth, with Hair on his Head, and Naylor on his Fingers and Toes, with a viperous strength enforcing as it were his passage through his Mothers Womb, whom afterwards he shamed not to accuse of Adultery; but as one that then wrought Journey-work with the Devil, his manners and qualities seconded the feature and lineaments of his Body and Members, which were much deformed, being Hook-shouldred, Splay-footed, and Goggle-ey'd, his countenance sower, the compofure of his face little and round, his complexion swarfie, his left Arm from his Birth dry and withered.

Nature supplied these deformities of the Body, with a strong Brain, a quick Apprehension, a good Memory, and a most fluent Tongue, which he seldom exercised, but to the abuse of credulity. And with the sweetness of his delivery, he could so prevail with such whom he meant to work upon, that he would oftentimes, as it were infatuate them, and enforce their belief of his Oaths and Protestations, which were, by *St. Paul*, and wishing God to damn him, if he did not perform his word (which at the time of the speaking was no part of his thought) yea, sometimes against the hearers Knowledge and Conscience: he was neither morally honest, nor religiously good. He used to make Authority the stawking-horse to his will, and his will the sole Commander of his Conscience, the largeness whereof could without any scruple, swallow Murther of Brother, Nephew, Wife, and nearest Friends, nay, attempt rape and incest with his own Brothers Daughter, yet did with Artificial Dissimulation, so cover his dishonest and abominable intentions, that not many could discover them.

Who or whatsoever opposed his aspiring pride, or unprofitable pleasure, was by his Plotting cunningly and covertly taken away, or removed. He was so thoroughly perfect in the Hypocritical art of simulation, and dissimulation, that he would use most Complement, and shew greatest signs of love and courtesie to him in the Morning, whose Throat he had taken order to be cut that Evening.

He held it for a Maxime in policy, That half doing in any thing, was worse than no doing; and therefore whatsoever he once attempted, he went through with it, howsoever it seemed to others unnatural, and unchristian.

He used the Instruments of his Bloody Plots, as men do their Candles, burn the first to a snuff, and then having lighted another, tread that under-foot; yet howsoever his birth were prodigious, and life Monstrous, yet his death was not dishonourable. For though his cause were bad, he fought bravely, and dyed fighting, leaving behind an ample testimony of his great valour, and little grace. With the end of his Reign, the Sword of Civil dissention betwixt the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, which had been so long drawn, and so often Bathed in the Blood of Christians, was happily sheathed, and the passage to concord prepared; whilst this

poor Island that had been imbroyled with War and her companions, had leisure to call to mind, the many Murthers, Stratagems, Slaughters, Overthrows, and Calamities, which through their unnatural division of the two Roses, she had sustained; and thereby she found that from the time that *Richard Duke of York*, who was slain in the Battel at *Wakefield*, seeking to anticipate the time allotted unto him by Authority of the Parliament (whereby the Crown was entailed to him and his issue) to gain the possession thereof, and from whence all those preecited miseries did proceed, untill the death of the Usurper; there were slain fourscore Princes of the Blood Royal, and twice as many Natives of *England*, as were lost in the two Conquests of *France*. The dissention that fell, was betwixt the House of *York* descended from *Lionel*, born at *Antwerp*, Duke of *Clarence* second Son of *Edward* the third; and the House of *Lancaster*, issued from *John* of *Gaunt*, the third surviving, but otherwise fourth Son of the same King: the first giving for his cognizance the White Rose, the other the Red.

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*Lionel Duke of Clarence*, Married to his first Wife *Elizabeth* Daughter and Heir of *William Burgh*, Earl of *Ulster*, and to his second Wife *Violenta* Daughter of *Galens* Viscount of *Mislaine*; by his first Wife he had issue *Philip*, sole and only Child; which *Philip* was Married to *Edmond Mortimer* Earl of *March*, and *Ulster*, who had issue by her.

1 *Roger March*, the fourth Earl of *March*.

2 Sir *Edmond Mortimer*, that Married the Daughter of *Owen Glender*.

3 Sir *John Mortimer*, Beheaded. 3. H. 6.

1 *Elizabeth*, Married to the Lord *Piercy* stiled *Hotspur*.

*Philip*, first Married to *John Hastings*, Earl of *Pembrook*, and afterward to *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, and lastly to *John*, Lord *Saint-John*, died without issue.

*Roger*, the fourth Earl of *March*, 1387. nominated by King *Richard* the second, successor to the Kingdom of *England*, who Married *Eliana* Daughter of *Thomas Holland*, Earl of *Kent*, by whom he had Issue two Sons, and two Daughters.

1 *Edmond*, his Eldest Son, who succeeded him in the Earldom.

2 *Roger* died leaving his Father.

1 *Anne*, who was Married to *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, Son of *Edmond* of *Langley* Duke of *York*.

2 *Eliana* to *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*.

*Richard* of *Conisborough*, Married *Anne* Sister and Heir of *Edmond Mortimer*; and had Issue *Richard* Duke of *York*.

This *Richard*, was the first mover of the Faction against the House of *Lancaster*, the bearer of the Red Rose.

He Married *Ciceley*, the Daughter of *Ralph Nevill* first Earl of *Westmerland*, and had Issue.

1 *Henry* that dyed before his Father.

2 *Edward*, of that Name the Fourth King of *England*.

3 *Edmond* Earl of *Rutland*, slain at *Wakefield* by the Lord *Clifford*.

4 *John*,

5 *William* and } that all dyed all young.

6 *Thomas*

7. *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Murdered as afore.

1 *Anne*, the Eldest Daughter was first Married to *Henry Holland* Duke of *Exceter*, and after to Sir *Thomas Sayntleoger*.

2 *Elizabeth*, Married *John de la Pool* Duke of *Suffolk*.

Z

3 *Margaret*



- 3 Margaret, Married to Charles Duke of Burgundy.  
 4 Ursula, never Married; And thus was the title of York derived:  
 John of Gaunt (So named of the place where he was Born) fourth Son of King Edward the third, Married three Wives; the first  
 1 Blanch Daughter and Co-heir of Henry first Duke of Lancaster, by whom he had Issue:  
 1 Henry Plantagenet, Born at Bullingbrook.  
 1 Philip, Married to John King of Portugal and  
 2 Elizabeth, Married to John Duke of Exeter.  
 2 The second Wife was Constance Daughter and one of the Co-heirs of Peter King of Castile, by whom he had Issue: Katharine, afterward Married to Henry Son of John the King of Spain.  
 3 His third Wife was Katharine, Daughter of Payne Ruel, alias, Guyen, King of Arms, and the relict of Sir Otes Swinford Knight, by whom he had Issue, but before Marriage,  
 1 John Surnamed Beauford, Earl of Somerset.  
 2 Henry Bishop of Winchester.  
 3 Thomas Beauford Earl of Dorset.  
 1 Joan Beauford, first Married to Ralph Nevill, first Earl of Westmerland, and then to Robert Ferrers Lord of Ousley.

This Marriage betwixt John of Gaunt and Katharine Swinford was approved of, and the Issue Born before the espousals, made legitimate by Act of Parliament, and confirmed by a Bull from Rome.

This is the Catalogue of the Pedigree of the two Houses of Lancaster and York, betwixt whom the competition for the Crown of England, was the occasion of expence of so much Blood.

Although the Crown of England, upon the decease or deposition of Richard the second without Issue, was, *jure hereditario*, to descend to Edmond Mortimer the younger, the Son of Philip, Daughter and Heir of Lionel Duke of Clarence, the third Son of Edward the third, yet his Cousin Henry of Bullingbrook, Duke of Hertford, and Son and Heir of John of Gaunt, the younger Brother of Lionel of Clarence, taking advantage of the peoples forwardness, and his kinsmans being generally distasted, was created and Crowned King.

From the year of our Lord 1399, until the fourth of March 1460; In three Descents, the slips of the Red Rose in the Line of Lancaster, did bear sway, but not without some interruptions and hazzard: For though Edmond Plantagenet Duke of Anmerle, Son and Heir of Edmond of Langley, set not the White Rose claim on foot, yet as maligning the prosperity of Henry the fourth, he was a main stickler in the Conspiracy against him, intended to have been Executed at Oxford.

But the eruption of York, never was manifest until Richard Plantagenet, Son of Richard of Conisborough, Anno 1455. drew his Sword to make good his claim to the Crown of England. And from his time, I shall endeavour to draw a Compendiary of the times and places of the several Battels, between these two Houses strook, and the slaughter on both sides made.

The three and twentieth day of May, at S. Albons in Hertfordshire, Richard Duke of York gave Battel to King Henry the sixth, on whose side was slain Edmond Duke of Somerset.  
 Henry Earl of Northumberland.

Battel 1.  
 Anno 1455.

Duke 1.  
 Earls 3.

Humphrey

Henry Earl of Northumberland.

Humphry Earl of Stafford.

Thomas Lord Clifford, say some others, John 3 with divers Knights and Esquires to the number of 37 with five thousand common Souldiers, and Henry himself was taken Prisoner; on the Dukes part only six hundred: in the total 5641.

Lords 1.  
Knights 11.  
Esquires 18.  
5641.

A Battle was fought at *Bloarheath* in *Shropshire*, the thirteenth day of *September*, between the Lord *Andly* Lievetenant to *Henry* the sixth, and the Earl of *Salisbury*, in which *Andly* was slain, and his Army overthrown: at this Battle was slain in all, two thousand four hundred men, with *Sir Thomas Dutton*, beside six other *Cheshire* Knights, and two Esquires thereof; in all 2411.

Battle 2.  
Anno 1459.  
Lord 1.  
Knights 7.

*Sir Osbert Mountfort*, with twelve Gentlemen of his Company, was taken at *Sandwich* and carried to *Ricebanck*, and there Beheaded, by the Lord *Fauconbridge*.

2411.  
Knight 1.  
12.

The Earl of *Wilts* at *Mewbury* causeth twenty *Yorkists* to be Hanged and Quartered.

The tenth of *June*, in the thirty eighth year of the King, at *Northampton* was a Battle fought, wherein was slain *Humphry* Duke of *Buckingham*.

*John Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*.

*Thomas* Lord *Egremond*.

*John* Viscount *Beaumont*, and *Sir William Lucy*, with ten thousand and thirty men slain.

1030.  
Battle 3  
Anno 1459.  
Duke 1.  
Earl 1.  
Lord 1.  
Viscount 1.  
Knight 1.  
Lord 1.

The Lord *Scales* is slain upon the *Thames*, seeking to escape, by the Earl of *Warwick*s men.

The thirtieth of *December* at *Wakefield* was a Battle strook, wherein the Queen prevailed, with the slaughter of two thousand eight hundred persons, not numbring *Richard* Duke of *York*.

Battle 4.  
Anno 1469.

*Edmond* Earl of *Rutland* a Child, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* taken prisoner, but afterward Beheaded. *Sir John Mortimer*, and *Sir Hugh Mortimer*, the Dukes base Uncles.

Duke 1.  
Earls 2.  
Knights 8.

*Sir Davy Hall*.

*Sir Hugh Hastings*.

*Sir Thomas Nevill*.

*Sir William Parry*.

*Sir Thomas Parry*.

*Sir Richard Limbrick*, Knights, then likewise slain.

On *Candlemas* day, upon the plain near *Mortimers* Crofs in *Herefordshire*, a field was fought betwixt the new Duke of *York*, and the Earls of *Pembrook* and *Wilts*; wherein the Duke prevailed with the slaughter of 3800 men, but no man of Quality, but *Sir Owen Tyther*, that had married Queen *Katharine*.

Battle 5.  
Anno 1491.

Knight 1.

Upon *Shrovetuesday* the seventeenth of *February*, at *Saint Albons*, the second Battle was fought, between Queen *Margaret*, and the Duke of *Norfolk* and others, wherein were slain two thousand three hundred men, besides the Lord *Bonville*.

Battle 6.  
Lord 1.  
Knights 3.



Sir Thomas Keryell.

Sir John Gray, and Baron Thorpe.

Battle 7.  
Anno 1491.

The most cruel and deadly Battle of all others, during the rage of this unnatural division, was fought at *Towton*, or between *Towton* and *Saxton*, within four miles of *Tork*, the nineteenth day of *March*, being *Palm-Sunday*, day; wherein were slain of *English-men*, thirty five thousand ninety and one, and of strangers, one thousand seven hundred forty five; besides, two hundred and thirty slain the day before at *Ferry Brigge*, with the Lord *Fitz-water*, and the base Brother of the Earl of *Warwick*. The most remarkable men that fell in this Bloody fight, were:

*Henry Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*.

The Earl of *Shrewsbury*.

The Earl of *Devon*

*John Lord Clifford*.

The Lord *Beaumont*.

The Lord *Nevill*,

The Lord *Willoughby*.

The Lord *Wells*.

The Lord *Rosse*.

The Lord *Gray*.

The Lord *Dacres*.

The Lord *Fitz-Hugh*.

The two base Sons of *Henry Holland* Duke of *Exeter*.

Sir *Thomas Mollinex*.

Sir *Otes Beckingham*.

Sir *Aubrey Trussel*.

Sir *Richard Piercy*.

Sir *William Heyton*.

Sir *Jervoy Clifton*.

Sir *Foulk Hamys*.

Sir *Thomas Crackenthorpe*.

Sir *James Crackenthorpe*.

Sir *William Throllop*.

Sir *Andrew Throllop*.

Sir *Walter Harle*.

Sir *John Ormond*.

Sir *William Mollyns*.

Sir *Thomas Pigot*.

Sir *William Norborough*, and

*William Burton*, Knights.

The Earl of *Devonshire* there taken Prisoner, with three other Knights, were Beheaded at *Tork*, and so may be reckoned amongst the slain, so that the account of the whole number, besides those that died after of hurts then received, thirty seven thousand forty and six.

At *Hegley-More*, the Lord *Montacute* charged and put to flight, two thousand *Lancastrians*, who were on foot to March to *Henry* the sixth, at which time Sir *Ralph Piercy*, with one hundred and seven were slain, the residue flying, gave Alarm to the Kings Army, and upon the 15 of *May* in a Plain called *Livels*, near the Water of *Dowell* in *Hexamsire*, the Batel was fought against *Henry* the sixth by the Lord *Mountague*, General for

*Edward*

Earls 4.  
Lords 9.  
Knights 22.  
37046.

Battle 8  
Anno 1463.  
Knight 1.  
107.  
Anno 1464.

Edward the fourth, wherein were taken Prisoners:

Henry Duke of Somerset.

The Lord Rosse.

The Lord Mollins and

The Lord Hungerford.

Sir Thomas Wentworth.

Sir Thomas Hussey.

Sir John Findern, and sixteen Knights more Executed at Hexam and York.

Sir William Talboys, Titulary Earl of Kime or Angus; and not Kent as Master Martin relateth.

Sir Ralph Nevill.

Sir Ralph Gray, and

Sir Richard Tunstall, were taken afterwards, but Beheaded. The number slain, is uncertainly set down, the most of our common Writers not naming any, only *Febian* saith, about two thousand, so that I make that my scale to reckon by.

At a place called *Danes More*, near the Town of *Edgcot*, within four miles of of *Banbury*, was a great Battle fought upon Saint *James* his day, the five and twentieth of *July*, wherein were slain five thousand men.

*William Herbert*, Earl of *Pembrook*.

*Sir Richard Herbert* and eight Knights more, are taken and Beheaded at *Banbury*.

The Earl *Rivers*, and *Sir John* his Son are Beheaded at *Northampton*.

The Earl of *Worcester*, *John Tiptoft* at *London*.

The Lord *Willoughby* at *Doncaster*.

The Lord *Staffard* at *Bridgewater*.

The Lord *Wells*, and

*Sir Robert Dymock*, were beheaded in the March, but uncertain where.

Near *Stamfort* in *Lincolnshire* was a Battle fought the first of *October* wherein were slain ten thousand men, but no men of note, but *Sir Robert Wells*, and *Sir Thomas de land*; those men were put to flight, for their more ease to escape, cast away their Coats, whereupon it was called *Lofecoat field*.

Upon the fourteenth day of *April*, being Easter-day, upon a Plain called *Gladmore Heath*, between *Barnet* and *S. Albones*, (the Earls of *Warwick*, *Oxford*, and the Marquess *Montacute*, Commanders in chief, on behalf of *Henry* the sixth, against *Edward* the fourth) there was a terrible Battle fought, wherein were slain ten thousand three hundred men, amongst whom were the Earl of *Warwick*, the Marquess *Montacute*, the Lord *Cromwell*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Mountjoy*, *Sir Henry Bouchier*, *Sir William Terril*.

Upon the fourth of *May* being Saturday, Prince *Edward* with his Mother Queen *Margaret*, to redeem *Henry* the sixth, gave Battle to King *Edward*, wherein Queen *Margaret* was taken Prisoner, and Prince *Edward* was slain in cold Blood. There were slain at this incounter:

*John Somerset* Marquess *Dorset*.

*Thomas Courtney* Earl of *Devon*.

*Thomas Lord Wenlake*.

*Sir John Delves*.

*Sir Edward Hampden*.

Duke 1.

Lords 3.

Knights 20.

2024.

Battle 9.  
Anno 1469.

5009.

Earls 3.

Lords 3.

Knights 11.

Battle 10.  
Anno 1470.  
Knights 2.  
10000.

Battle 11.  
Anno 1471.

Earl 1.  
Marquess 1.  
Lords 3.  
Knights 2.  
10300.

Battle 12.  
An. pradi.  
A Prince.  
Duke 2.  
A Marquess.  
A Lord.  
Prior.  
An Earl.  
A Baron.  
Knights 20.

Sir



Sir Robert Whittingham.  
 Sir John Lewkner, and three thousand others.  
 Edmond Duke of Somerset.  
 John Lonsfrother, Lord Prior of Saint-Johns.  
 Sir Thomas Tresham.  
 Sir Jervoy Clifton.  
 Sir Richard Vaux.  
 Sir William Harvey.  
 Sir Thomas Fielding.  
 Sir Robert Lewknor.  
 Sir Thomas Lirmoth.  
 Sir William Vroman.  
 Sir John Seymor.  
 Sir Thomas Roase.  
 Sir Thomas Fitzhony.  
 Sir Robert Flamen, were taken and Executed in Tewksbury, the one day, and  
 Sir Humphry Audley.  
 Sir William Crymby.  
 Sir William Cary.  
 Sir William Newbourgh were likewise with  
 Henry Tresham.  
 Walter Courtney.  
 John Flory.  
 Lewis Miles.  
 Robert Jackson.  
 James Gower,  
 James Delves, Heir of Sir James Delves, Beheaded there the next day.

Esquires 37  
 1002.

This was the last Battle that was fought in the days of King Edward the fourth, but not all the blood shed about this quarrel: For at London by the treason of Bastard Fauconbridge, there were seven hundred and eighty of his partakers, and three hundred and twelve Citizens Londoners, slain.

Battle 13.  
 Anno 1485.  
 King 1.  
 Duke 1.  
 Lord 1.  
 Knights 3.

Upon Redmore Down near Bosworth in Liecestershire, on the twenty second of August, was the thirteenth set Battle in this unkind quarrel fought, wherein King Richard the Usurper was slain, and with him on his part John Duke of Norfolk, Walter Lord Ferrers, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and Sir Robert Brackenbury, with four thousand and eight: And on Richmonds side, Sir William Brandon, and 180 with him. After this Battle there was a conjunction of the so long severed Rose branches: Nevertheless, the Enemy to Englands quiet, would not suffer the Gate of concord to stand quite open, but raised up Impostors, and counterfeits, to interrupt the same: But since the cause of the dissention by the Union of the Red and White-Roses, in Henry the seventh, and the Lady Elizabeth, their so happy enter-marriage, was taken away, what occasion of expence of Blood did after fall out within the Realm, ought (under favour be it delivered) rather to be imputed to the effect of Treasonable machinations, then to any just occasion of the Roses Title.

And therefore I purposely omit to intermix the number of those that were slain, since Bosworth field; amongst those that are to be reckoned up in the general slaughter in the thirteen Battels, and the occasions of expence of

of Blood intervening by skirmishes, and accidental means, and content my self with the only recapitulation of the several numbers, of Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Barons, Viscounts, Bishops, Mitred Prelates, Knights, \*Esquires, \*Gentlemen, and private Souldiers: that during the rage of these Civil Wars which followed that breach of the course of succession attempted by the intrusion of *Henry* the fourth, fell under the alternate Fortunes of the Victors Sword; until that ever to be Blessed re-uniting the two Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, whereby righteousness and Peace did kiss each other, and Mercy and Truth (which I pray God ever to continue) established the Crown of *England* in an hopeful and happy descending Line. And as *Henry* the seventh conjoyned the Roses, so hath King *James* of ever-blessed memory united the pre-divided Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, espousing their Union to our Sovereign Lord King *Charles*, to Gods Glory, the Churches good, and his Subjects great comfort.

\* Knights eldest Sons.  
\* Of Coat-armour and Ancestry.

*Henry the Roses, James the Kingdoms knit :  
And Charles of both partakes the benefit.  
Oh ! thou of Jesse flower, of Judah Lion,  
In his Dominion plant the peace of Sion ;  
And never let hearts quiet follow those,  
That shall the holding of this Knot oppose :  
But let thy best of blessing wait on them,  
That zealously shall guard his Diadem.*

The total of private Souldiers that perished in the time of these Civil Wars, and suffered the punishment of immature death, for taking part on the one side or the other, is,

Fourscore four thousand, nine hundred, and ninety eight persons, besides

Kings two.	Viscounts two
Prince one.	Lord Prior one.
Dukes ten.	Judge one.
Marquesses two.	Knights one hundred thirty nine.
Earls one and twenty.	Esquires four hundred forty
Lords twenty seven.	one.

The number of the Gentry is every way so uncertainly reported, that if I should endeavour to set down a general of what is particularly related, I should but give occasion of further question, than I am willing should be moved, for a thing of so little moment; and therefore willingly omit it: and the rather, for that they are for the most part included in the number of the private Souldiers as aforesaid, set down to be slain: to which but add the number of six hundred thirty and eight, the total of all the persons of eminency not therein accounted, and then there appeareth in all to have been slain, fourscore five thousand, six hundred, twenty and eight Christians, and most of this Nation, not to be repeated without grief, nor remembered without deprecation, that the like may never happen more.

*Pax una triumphis innumeris potior.*

**F I N I S.**